

JPRS-NEA-84-153

12 October 1984

Near East/South Asia Report

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12 October 1984

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SOVIET JOURNALIST DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH PLO, ARABS, IRAN

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 24 Jul 84 pp 16-22

[Interview with Soviet journalist Dr Belayev: "AL-MUJTAMA' and Belayev in Political Symposium: Discussion on Soviet Union's Political Positions" in Kuwait, date not specified]

[Text] A dialogue between a communist and a Muslim is very rare. Discussions between Muslim officials and Soviet officials are almost nonexistent. This results in the two sides being ignorant of each other. Even the features of the opinions and of the projections change and become inverted as a result of this ignorance.

Even though the gap between the Islamic and communist tendencies is deep and the distance between the two sides is vast and even though the areas of disagreement cover not only the results but also many of the principles and of the premises, we say that despite all this, Islamic conduct fashioned after the behavior of the Chosen One, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, motivates us to hold a dialogue with all sides to discuss the following:

1. To convey Islamic opinion and to familiarize others soundly with the directions of this opinion "so that they may hear God's word," as the Koran says.
2. To become thoroughly familiarized with the opinions and tendencies of the other parties. This in itself lessens the intensity of the hostility between the parties concerned and at least imbues these relations with the quality of courtesy.

AL-MUJTAMA' has held dialogues with numerous parties that disagree with it in opinion and tendency, with the disagreement in opinion being at times total and at other times partial. AL-MUJTAMA' has held dialogues with orientalist and politicians from the Western camp but this is the first time it has held a dialogue with a politician from the Eastern camp and from the Soviet Union, namely Dr Belayev.

Dr Belayev is a well-known Soviet journalist who spent a part of his life moving in the Middle East during 'Abd-al-Nasir's days. He stayed for a while in Egypt and had close relations with the men of 'Abd-al-Nasir's

regime. He headed NOVOSTI's Middle East Bureau and then moved to semi-official positions in the Soviet Union. He is now the chief editor of a literary magazine published in the Soviet Union and the deputy chairman of the Anti-Zionist Organization. Soviet diplomats have introduced him as an official spokesman reflecting their state's official viewpoint.

Belayev has discussed the various issues raised by AL-MUJTAMA'. We publish this dialogue while noting that some of the opinions expressed reflect a viewpoint that does not agree with our viewpoint. God is the giver of all success.

[Question] We welcome Mr Belayev and we hope that he will present at the outset his personal background and his experiences with Middle East issues.

[Answer] I work as a journalist and represent here the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which is the mouthpiece of the Soviet men of letters, writers and intellectuals. It is a paper concerned with internal affairs. We are also concerned with political affairs and spiritual matters. We have now become more interested in Middle East affairs, especially in the Gulf area and in what is happening in it. I have visited the Middle East, especially Egypt, frequently since 1967. In 1969, I developed a strong interest in the religious aspect when one of my colleagues warned me that an important phenomenon had begun to spread and that it may have the future, namely religion. Regrettably, religion has been able to accomplish nothing because of its complex view of life and because of the decline of the science of morals. We as Soviet Communists disagree with this. We recognize religion, and we are not atheists, as they say. However, we do not work for these spiritual features and we are not in conflict with the believers, as Lenin says. There are in Russia many believers spread over a large number of the Soviet republics. But we ask: Is God with those who serve the colonialists? No. In a meeting with a British Protestant clergyman serving as a pastor in South Sudan, he constantly asked me: Why don't you believe in God? I gave him numerous reasons and then asked him: Is God a communist or not? Is he black or white, and so forth? This debate occurred only because I am a leftist and he is a rightist. But I held this pastor in high esteem.

Russia and Imperialism

[Question] The Soviet Union frequently declares that it fights imperialism and colonialism and that it is against the capitalist world. When we, people of the Third World, evaluate this declaration, we find that the Soviet Union behaves like a colonialist through its alliance with the major powers (Sykes-Picot and Yalta), which were concluded by Stalin. At present, the Soviet Union shares influence with the United States in accordance with SALT I and SALT II. Considering that the Soviet Union is a major power sharing interests with the other major powers, as if we are a piece shared by these powers, and considering this political characteristic, we wonder: What is the difference between world imperialism and the methods followed by Soviet policy throughout its history?

[Answer] I am greatly surprised by these words because I am hearing them in the Middle East and from Arab sources. He who examines history will find out that most of these treaties date back to Czarist Russia and that we do not acknowledge that era or what happened in it and that we are not responsible for it. As for the Yalta treaty, we were a major power and we scored victories in the war in which we had stood with imperialism against the common enemy, Hitler. In this treaty, there were numerous promises but little action. We were against the imperialist mandate in the Arab countries and we did not support the war even in the days of Yalta.

I stress that liberation of the Arab countries came as a result of the Soviet victories and as a result of the Yalta conference. We stand with the Arabs and against Israel. We are not like the Western countries which supported from the beginning and which are still supporting Israel that has launched numerous wars on the Arabs since 1948. This means that for you, Yalta was a victory, not a defeat.

As for SALT, it is a sensitive issue. In the wake of World War II and of invention of the atomic bomb, it was decided that weapons [development] would begin instead of allowing the United States to triumph in the entire world. This is why we are in a constant struggle with the United States all over the world. After production of the atomic bomb in 1949, for example, the nuclear bomb was invented. We produced the nuclear bomb in the 1950's and tested it for the first time in 1960. The Cuban crisis developed in the wake of these inventions, considering that we had supported the Cuban liberation revolution from the outset and that we did not seek sabotage inside the United States. When the United States felt during Kennedy's administration the danger of the matter and of the deployment of the Soviet missiles, which was in retaliation for the U.S. missiles deployed in Europe and Turkey--which was tantamount to a reciprocal policy in self-defense--the United States contacted us, calling for an agreement. The agreement reached was clear, namely that we would withdraw our missiles from Cuba in return for the United States withdrawing its medium-range missiles from Italy and Turkey--missiles which were aimed against us. Kennedy also promised at the time that the United States would not harm the Cuban government or people and that it would even protect them from any harm. The Soviet step taken at the time was for the sake of peace. Moreover, we support the liberation movements, not by exporting revolution but by supporting the men we love in all parts of the world. What happened when we held peace talks with the United States? Revolutions for liberation erupted in numerous countries. It is unreasonable for us to confine ourselves to our state and let the United States dominate and control the world.

I ask here, just for example, who stands behind Syria to support and protect it from Israel? It is unreasonable to say that Syria is standing so fast against Israel by itself. For example, in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front Conference held in October 1978, there were numerous assertions about the front standing with the Soviets and about cooperation and coordination with the Soviets to do so and so. Algerian President Boumediene was present at the conference and stood up to tell al-Asad that

it was untrue that he stood with the Soviets unless he went to Moscow to negotiate with the Soviet leaders for cooperation.

In 1981, Hafiz al-Asad visited the Soviet Union and concluded a treaty between the two countries. Article 8 of the treaty called for consultations between the two sides in times of crises. Acting on the basis of this treaty, we worked to bolster the position of the Syrian side in the wake of the Israeli-Lebanese accord and of the fall of the resistance. This perhaps provides an explanation to the question on the Soviet position toward the Arabs and on whether the Soviets are with the Arabs. When we support peoples, we support all peoples, not only communists.

By examining all the events in the Arab area, you will find out the true nature of the Soviet position.

Conflicting Positions

[Question] It seems that you are trying to bear witness to the integrity of the Soviet position toward the Arab nation's causes. But we will not be convinced of the integrity of Soviet policy. Your communist governments, in their capacity as colonialist governments, never work for our interest, contrary to what you say, for the following considerations:

1. Your direct and open involvement in the game of influence with the Western camp in the wake of World War II and your attempt to tie the Arab regimes and others to your policy until matters reached the point of dividing political influence in the world between you and the Western camp. A quick glance at the political map shows that there is a Soviet foothold in every country neighboring an Arab country subservient to the West. Morocco, for example, is tied to the wheels of Western policy whereas your footholds are clearly in neighboring Algeria. Tunisia moves with the Western bandwagon whereas neighboring Libya follows (as its ruler himself declares) the Eastern camp. Thus, the political division is obvious on all parts of the Arab map. It seems as if matters are arranged between the communist camp and the capitalist camp.
2. By examining the policies of the governments that are agents of the Soviet Union, we find that they are bloody policies similar to the communist policy toward the peoples. It is well known to all peoples of the world that human rights are squandered in all countries ruled by friends of the Soviets, such as Libya, Syria, Aden, Ethiopia and others.
3. The establishment of military bases on Arab territories is an open colonialist act that comes directly within the framework of the game of coordination between you and the Western camp. Your bases in Aden, in the Arabian Sea, in the Indian Ocean and in Ethiopia are well known.
4. Your direct military intervention in a number of East European countries to quell movements opposed to ties with you [the Soviets] is a flagrant colonialist manifestation. This happened in Hungary and then in Czechoslovakia during Dubcek's administration in 1967. This is an act whereby

the Soviets subjugate others by force of arms, which is no different from the immorality of the United States in Vietnam and other places.

5. Your military intervention in Afghanistan puts you at the top of the colonialist list. What is most painful to our people from the ocean to the Gulf is your support for tyrannical governments. This is why our people believe that you are the friends of the blood-thirsty regimes and not at all friends of the peoples. Your governments have the same colonialist quality as the United States of America.

[Answer] We consider all the events that have happened in these countries internal affairs in which we do not at all interfere from beginning to end. We may not agree with some steps which the heads of your peoples take. But they are ultimately matters of internal policy. But we do agree with these governments on the general issues, such as their position vis-a-vis Israel, for example. Moreover these countries are not Soviet colonies. As for the issue of usurping liberties, it is a big issue on which we can have a lengthy discussion. I did write some articles criticizing Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir when he stood against the communists.

[Question] Why didn't you write a single article when he stood against and executed Muslim Brotherhood members?

[Answer] Frankly, because the Brotherhood is always with colonialism. There are numerous indications of this position. For example, if al-Asad's regime falls tomorrow, the winner will be the Western colonialists (the United States and Israel) who are helped by the internal pressure exerted by the Muslim Brotherhood against al-Asad's regime.

As for our supporting only the communist parties and their interests, this is untrue. When our relations with Kuwait, as a state, are good, this is a gain for us because we support Kuwait as a government, as a state and as a people with all their factions, be they communists or something else or even Muslim Brotherhood followers, if they are progressive and are against Iran and colonialism.

[Question] What is the nature of your relationship with the Arab communist parties?

[Answer] It is an ideological and political relationship at a certain level. Our relations with the states [governments] are at a more important level. We have good relations with all the Arab communist and socialist parties, such as the parties of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, Mustafa Murad and Ibrahim Shukri in Egypt and the Tunisian Communist Party. I have met with two members of the Saudi Communist Party in Lebanon. But I don't know whether there is or there isn't a general relationship between the Saudi Communist Party and the Soviet Communist Party.

Position Toward Gulf War

[Question] The U.S. press has reported that U.S. President Reagan said while on his way to attend the summit conference of the Western industrial

nations that both the United States and Russia are in agreement on ending the Gulf war. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] The development of the events and the tension existing in this area are nothing but a result of U.S. policy. I am certain of this but, regrettably, I don't have enough information. The main objective of this game is the return of the Americans to occupation under the propaganda of the Soviet danger to the Islamic countries and to the Islamic revolutions. If the United States wants to end this war, it can do so. But it has been supplying Iran with weapons since the outbreak of this war and until now through U.S. and Israeli channels. Prior to the revolution, the Iranian army was equipped with U.S. weapons. Reagan can stop the flow of such weapons to Iran. If we go back to the November 1980 edition of NEWSWEEK, we find that the first report it carries is a report saying that Israel supplies Iran with weapons. At present, there is information which indicates that Israel is supplying Iran with an enormous amount of weapons. I don't believe in America's word of honor. Why? Because in the first days of this war, we agreed with the Americans not to supply the warring parties with weapons. We stopped the supply of weapons to Iraq but the Americans did the opposite. When the Iranian forces entered Iraqi territory a year and a half ago, we resumed supplying Iraq with weapons.

[Question] Did you take this position after the Iranian regime had hit the Tudeh Communist Party?

[Answer] The story of the conflict between the Tudeh Party and the regime is a long story, but a special one. We are against the confrontation between the party and the regime. But I imagine that it is difficult to conclude that the Iranian regime hit Tudeh Party because of the war in Iraq. In my view, the regime hit this party for ideological and political reasons.

[Question] Do you want to deny what the U.S. press has published, citing President Reagan, about the United States and the Soviet Union being in agreement on ending the Iraq-Iran war?

[Answer] I imagine that such an agreement does not exist because the United States does not want the Gulf war to end. The Americans want to exploit this war against the Arab world and for Israel.

Russian Intervention in Afghanistan

[Question] You say that you do not interfere in the internal affairs of friendly countries. How do you explain your entry into Afghanistan to hit the peaceful Muslim people and your siding with the ruler against the Muslim Mujahidin there?

[Answer] In November 1978, I visited ex-Lebanese President Sulayman Franjiyah. From the first moment of our conversation, he began to criticize Soviet positions toward the Arabs. I asked him: Did you, as president of the Republic of Lebanon, ask us for anything? He said: No, the personal

relationship with the Soviet ambassador to Lebanon was good but the intervention in the war in the interest of the Lebanese side is something else.

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan came as a result of 13 requests from the legitimate Afghan Government. Moreover, we intervened for peace, not for war. When peace is established in Afghanistan, we will depart immediately.

[Question] Are you pleased with aiding a regime that kills the innocent who want to protect their homeland from foreign intervention?

[Answer] Are you speaking of the Dushman as innocent? I disagree with you. If you are with the Dushman, you are against the Afghan people. Let us, the Americans, the Dushman and the Arabs sit together around a roundtable. Whoever refuses to join is responsible for the events in Afghanistan. We are in Afghanistan to help the Afghan people.

[Question] The pretext you have cited for the intervention in Afghanistan is the same pretext cited by the United States for its intervention in Grenada. In other words, your pretext is a colonialist pretext, namely that the official government asked you to intervene. Our Islamic peoples have memorized this cliché of justification very well.

[Answer] I am not saying the official government but the legitimate government.

[Question] But this government has not come through elections?

[Answer] I have no idea on the issue of elections. But I say: When we ask for roundtable negotiations, Pakistan refuses, the United States refuses and the Dushman refuse.

[Question] Why don't you accept America's argument for intervening in Grenada and in Vietnam as long as it is the same argument you use, namely the request of the legitimate government?

[Answer] The CIA killed (Bishop), who was the head of the Grenadian Government, and the Americans are the ones who provoked Grenada. The game played in Grenada is a game of intelligence [services], not a political game.

[Question] This is also said of what has happened in Afghanistan. Soviet intelligence perpetrated a series of coups, ousting this one or killing that one until Karmal's administration came to power.

[Answer] I beg you to understand that the Russian relationship with Afghanistan is a very old relationship that dates back to the 19th century.

[Question] The Soviet Union claims that it supports the peoples. The truth is that you are against the peoples, as evidenced by the fact that Soviet troops are killing the Afghan people.

[Answer] I don't believe this and I am not sure of it.

[Question] So the Soviet troops are killing the people in Afghanistan?

[Answer] The Dushman. Dushman is an Afghan word that means enemies of the Afghan people. In a revolution, there are two sides: a side that supports it and one that opposes it. We are with those who support the revolution in Afghanistan.

[Question] Are you with the majority or the minority in Afghanistan?

[Answer] Do you think that the majority of the Afghan people are against the regime?

[Question] Yes, by evidence of the presence of the Soviets in Afghanistan.

[Answer] I hope you will understand me well. It will become clear in the future if we are against the Afghan people.

[Question] What is the number of Russian troops in Afghanistan?

[Answer] I don't remember exactly. But it is less than 100,000 troops.

[Question] Why have the Russians been unable so far to quell the Islamic revolution in Afghanistan as long as you say that it is a minority and that the majority of the Afghan people support the government?

[Answer] History is with us. After the 1917 revolution in Russia, there were Dushman in the Soviet Union. The counterrevolution went on for 15 years, until 1932. In Afghanistan, the majority of the people will soon say the decisive word to establish tranquillity. We do not at all aspire to occupy Afghanistan.

[Question] Regarding the Palestinian issue and the Soviet position toward it: We consider the Palestinian issue the issue of the Arabs and the Muslims. We consider the West generally and the United States in particular our enemies. The United States is the power that helped create Israel and that is still assisting Israel. As for the Soviet Union, which considers itself a friend of ours, we find its positions surprising. Let us define these positions in points:

First point: When Israel was founded in 1948, the Soviet Union was the second country to recognize it.

Second point: The position of Soviet Foreign Ministry Gromyko on 29 November 1947--a position which defended the partition resolution, i.e., the presence of Israel in Palestine.

Third point: What you call Israel is Palestine. The Jews or the Israelis are not the Palestinians. They have gathered in Palestine from all parts of the world, including the Soviet Union and the other communist countries.

The Soviet Union did afterward stand with some Arab regimes and with the PLO outwardly, and this makes us pose some questions:

First, is the Soviet Union in favor of the presence of Israel, i.e., with abolishing Palestine, making the Palestinian people homeless and replacing them with Jewish immigrants who have come from all parts of the world? Or is the Soviet Union with the liberation of all of Palestine and the deportation of the Jews who have come to Palestine, each to his country of origin?

Second, the Palestinian revolution has experienced crises. It is well known that the Palestinian revolution has good relations with the Soviet Union. But 'Arafat was screaming for help in Beirut and the Soviet Union did not help him! When he asked for aid, the Soviet Union told the Palestinians: Ask through Syria. This came at a time when the Syrian regime was blockading the Palestinian revolution, denying it even medicine.

Third, if you support some regimes internally so that they may be able to stand on their feet and if you then move these regimes in the direction of peace and of a peace treaty with Israel, then this is rejected by our masses. If you want to hear the people's opinion, then this opinion is that this direction is rejected by all the Arab people. Even the PLO leadership has, regrettably, followed this current.

Fourth, there are background features in the communist presence that provoke our suspicion and doubt. For example:

1. Nearly all the communist parties in the Arab countries were founded by Jews.
2. Nearly three-quarters of the members of the first Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party were Jews. When the Jew pretends to embrace Marxism or communism, then he seeks to utilize it to serve his creed and his people.
3. Arab communism has not been able so far to find a popular base for itself because it is against the masses. It waits for its orders to come from the Soviet Union or from China (in Mao's days). We would like to note that the rift in Fatah carries the Marxist tendency.
4. You said at the outset of your conversation that you are not atheists whereas Marx and Lenin were hostile to religions and said: "Religion is the opium of the people" and "there is no God. Life is material."

We say that Islam was a revolution against backwardness, against reaction, against tyranny and against discrimination and that Islam is the movement of the poor against the oppressors and the tyrants. The Muslims carry these days these ideas of justice which must be disseminated in all parts of the world, along with the concepts of freedom and liberation from all kinds of tyranny and colonialism.

If a Muslim in Syria or somewhere else is said to be a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is an accusation trumped up by 'Abd-al-Nasir, then you should know that the Muslim is a different man. You need to restudy Islam in order to learn the true nature of Islam as a social, economic, political and spiritual revolution that wants to secure justice and happiness for all mankind.

[Answer] I prefer to start from the beginning: The Soviet Union, as a state, wanted to see Palestine a united state for both Arabs and Jews. We were the only major power to demand this during the UN negotiations, debates and discussions whereas the majority of the Security Council and General Assembly members were in favor of the partition of Palestine. Therefore, we were a minority and we decided that there should first be an Arab state and then a Jewish state. The partition resolution was adopted. Britain believed that there should be two states in Palestine. Very regrettably, the State of Israel came into existence and the State of Palestine did not. This is not our fault. There were a number of reasons, including the absence of a Palestinian leadership and the absence of a united Arab political leadership.

It is said at times that we were the first state to recognize Israel and at others it is said that we were the second state to do so. But at the same time, we were ready to recognize an Arab Palestinian state on the same bases and in the same political direction in the Middle East because we respect the UN principles in the international sphere and the UN resolutions.

Did we support Israel as a state when it violated international laws and in its wars against the Arabs? Of course not. Israel is now demanding that the Soviet Union resume relations with it. Gromyko said in April 1983 that we will be ready to resume diplomatic relations with Israel if a complete change occurs in Israel's policy toward the Arabs.

Soviet citizens do not know as much about the international issues and problems as they do about the Palestinian problem. Palestine's issue is deep in our hearts and we have supported the Arabs in 1956, in 1967, in 1973 and in 1983 and 1984.

Kosygin told the U.S. president on 9 June 1967: There are U.S. elements that want to spark off a third world war between the Soviet Union and the United States. We are ready for such a war if Israel does not stop its war against Syria. The war against Syria ended at 1800 on 10 June 1967.

In Beirut, or in Lebanon, did the Lebanese Government or Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis ask the Soviet Union to intervene in the war Israel launched against Lebanon? Of course not. Rather, the Lebanese Government invited the Americans and the multinational forces to enter the war. You know the results: Sabra and Shatila [massacres] and the occupation of Beirut by the Israeli Army.

When Syria asked the Soviet Union to help the Syrian people, the State of Syria and the Syrian regime which participated in the war against Israel in Lebanon, we supported Syria officially and openly.

Is there a difference? Yes, there is a difference. The Palestinians in Lebanon are refugees and guests and have no basis for inviting any state to interfere in Lebanon's internal or external affairs and against Israel. Very regrettably, the PLO is not a government and not a state. It is a liberation organization like other liberation organizations, such as SWAPO in Namibia or any other such organization in the world. We respect the PLO as an authority and we say that this organization is the sole representative of the Palestinian people in the struggle against Israeli aggression and in other issues.

When you say that the Syrian regime is in conflict with the Palestinians, this is a different matter. As I have said, we do not interfere in internal Arab affairs, whether in terms of the Syrian-Palestinian disagreement or in terms of the intra-Palestinian disagreement. We favor unity in the Palestinian ranks on a democratic basis and on the basis of the exchange of opinions between the various currents. The Soviet support for Palestinian self-determination and for establishing the independent Palestinian state in accordance with the UN resolutions is boundless.

If the Palestinians or the Arabs make decisions in the near future on the strategy to achieve the Palestinian people's self-determination and to create the independent Palestinian state, we support you in accordance with the Palestinian resolutions. We have no Soviet ideas to propose for the Palestinian resolution.

As for the communist parties, is Khalid Bakdash a Jew? There was Ariel (Corriell) in Egypt but the role of the Jews in the Arab communist parties is nonexistent. As for the role of the Jews in the Soviet Communist Party, there are 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union. Should we expel them? This is impossible.

As for Islam and its being the revolution of the poor, I published an article entitled "Islam and Politics" in which I said that there are progressive elements in Islam. We are not against Islam as a religion and we are not against Islam as a policy. I don't believe that Khomeyni's Islam is a progressive Islam. I was in Tehran in February 1979 and again in July 1980. Are the people, especially the youth belonging to Mujahid-e-Khalq and the Feda'iyin-e Eslami who created all the real success of this revolution against the shah's regime, criminals? Of course not.

In the first days after the revolution's success, we helped Khomeyni's regime economically, socially and technically and we wanted relations between us to be good.

Russia and the Tudeh Party

[Question] We believe that the disagreement between you and the Iranians is the result of the blow against Tudeh Party. The divorce between the

Soviet Union and the Iranian regime came after the start of the liquidation of elements of the Tudeh Party. When the old parties, excluding the Tudeh Party, were liquidated, no disagreement developed. We should not imagine that the Soviet Union is with the oppressed peoples.

[Answer] The first step against the Soviet Union was taken in Tehran in 1979, i.e., 3 years before the divorce about which you are talking. Khomeyni wanted Iranian gas to pass through the Soviet Union, considering that the Soviet Union had been receiving gas in the days of the shah. At the same time, Soviet gas was being delivered to Western Europe (Italy, France and West Germany). Britain and the United States were not happy with this.

The second step against the Soviet Union was taken in 1980 with the abolition of Articles 5 and 6 of the Iranian-Soviet treaty of 1921.

Those who triumphed at the beginning of the Iranian revolution were not Khomeyni's forces but the popular forces, the oppressed and the leftist forces. In 1979 and 1980, Khomeyni was speaking against the Soviet Union. There were also verbal statements against the United States. But no statements were made against England.

[Question] England's current role in the area does not have the same weight of the U.S. or Soviet role.

[Answer] But in Iran, England is considered a major power. Since the 19th century, England has been dealing with clergymen here in the Middle East. England founded the Muslim Brotherhood Association in the city of Ismailia in 1928.

[Question] The Russian Communist Party emerged during the Czarist regime. Was this party under the control of the regime?

[Answer] The Muslim Brotherhood always tries to utilize progressive slogans. But these slogans are implemented in a reactionary manner. This is why the Muslim Brotherhood has not triumphed until now.

Jews and Supreme Soviet Presidium

[Question] It is well known that Jews used to form the majority of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Do you think that this was one of the reasons why the formation of the Anti-Zionist Committee was delayed until 2 years ago? What is the secret behind the fact that the chairman of this committee is a Jew whereas you are his deputy?

[Answer] I have no precise figures on the number of Jews. But we in the Soviet Union are aware of the role of the Jews and of the other nationalities in the October Revolution. We had in our country the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and we supported the Jews against Hitler. Before the 1967 war in the Middle East, we did not feel that Zionism was an important or racist movement. But after the war, the situation changed and we have

been warning against Zionism in a number of books and have been publishing figures and facts to underline the true nature of Zionism. When Ben Gurion said that communism was the number-one enemy of Zionism, we did not take this as a serious phrase that can stand in the face of the Soviet Union as a state and of communism as an ideology. But when Zionism became the basis for Israeli policy in the Arab world, in the Middle East and in the entire world and when it became evident that Zionism had done numerous and varied things against communism as an ideology, against the Soviet Union as a state and against the Soviet peoples as peoples, we decided that we had to do something in this regard and thus founded the Anti-Zionist Committee in the Soviet Union. We decided that it would be better for the chairman of this committee to be a Jew. Those in the committee are 43 percent Jews and 57 percent from the other nationalities. This is a popular committee and we selected its Jewish chairman because he had experienced the woes of war. For example, the Germans killed his mother and all his kinsmen and he has played a well-known role in the army and in Soviet public life. Not every Jew is a Zionist and not every Israeli is a Zionist. There are the demonstrations staged in Israel against the Israeli expansionist policy and there are leftist as well as non-leftist members in the Knesset. We must always encourage the activities of this committee inside and outside the Soviet Union, and even in the Israeli army. I, as the deputy chairman of this committee, prefer to secure a front for struggle against Zionism in the Middle East and in the Arab world and another front for the other countries, such as the United States and West Europe. If you say that there are Zionists in the Soviet Union, then I would say: Officially, there aren't. However, there are some elements that listen to Israel's radio or that are sympathetic to Israel's Jews. The Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee will exert efforts to clarify the situation and to sabotage Zionist ideas in the Soviet Union.

I have come to Kuwait to cooperate with an anti-Zionist committee. Regrettably, I have been told that there is no such committee in Kuwait.

[Question] The Islamists [presumably meaning Muslim fundamentalists] are the elements most hostile to Zionism.

[Answer] Good. If you are prepared to cooperate with us, we are ready to cooperate with you.

[Question] The entire Kuwaiti people and the Arab people in their entirety are hostile to Zionism.

[Answer] And I say the same about the Soviet peoples. All the Soviet peoples are hostile to Zionism as an ideology inside or outside the Soviet Union, be it in the Middle East or in the world as a whole.

[Question] We thank Mr Belayev for his answers in this symposium and we hope to see you in Kuwait again. We wish the interview could be longer but there is no time.

[Answer] I thank you, first, for taking part in this dialogue and, second, because this dialogue is beneficial to me and will be beneficial to the Arab world as a whole. One of us may be a rightist and the other a leftist but this should not be cause for estrangement. I thank you and wish you success.

INTERNATIONAL CONCERN RISES OVER LIBYA-MOROCCO UNION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Sep 84 p 12

[Article by Walter Hambrich: "The Enigmatic Alliance: Concern Over Union of Libya and Morocco Not Only in Neighboring Countries"]

[Text] Madrid, 4 September--Only a few years ago, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi had via radio called upon Moroccan soldiers, eager to carry out a coup, to banish or kill King Hasan II, "the reactionary slave of the Americans." Now the new allies, Hasan and al-Qadhdhafi, have ceremoniously agreed to join their countries in a sort of union of states and to fight side by side in military conflicts in which one of the two countries might become involved.

Such a quick change of heart is not uncommon among Arab politicians, and certainly not with Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. Al-Qadhdhafi has in the past wanted to join his country with other states six times; all these unions failed, some only a few days after being ceremoniously announced. The present alliance with Morocco, however, should be taken more seriously. The proposal this time came not from Libya, but from King Hasan, who is accustomed to carefully thinking through in advance his often surprising moves. Although the two countries occupy quite opposite positions in the international power game as well as in their assessments of the conflict in the Near East, they can be of mutual use to one another in their national problems. Libya has poor relations with the largest country in the Maghreb, Algeria, while Morocco's relations with Algeria are definitely hostile. Since the beginning of the war in the Western Sahara, Algeria has supported the POLISARIO Front, which is fighting for the independence of this former Spanish colony. Algiers has let the Polisario Front have part of its territory. From this strip of desert south of Tindouf, the Polisario fighters go to war in the Western Sahara, which is occupied by Morocco. The government of the "Arab-Saharan Democratic Republic" (SDAR), set up by the Polisario Front is also based there and, to the great irritation of Rabat, is officially recognized by the majority of African states.

Al-Qadhdhafi too had until recently supported the Polisario Front, most of all financially, but he was never able to gain among the leadership the influence exercised there by Algiers. The Libyan had long courted

Algiers, but the cool Algerians mistrusted the impetuous colonel. Algiers as well as Tunis saw in al-Qadhdhafi's plan to unite the Maghreb politically an attempt to form a new large state, defined by Libya. The Algerian government believes that it has indications that much of the unrest in the south of its country was financed by Libya. On the other hand, Hasan II had done al-Qadhdhafi a favor by refusing to comply with the French wish that he send Moroccan soldiers into Chad, where Libya was fighting on the side of the rebels. Al-Qadhdhafi has promised to help Hasan take the negotiations on the future of the Western Sahara away from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and transfer them to purely Arab bodies. Al-Qadhdhafi then wants to give more money to the Moroccans, who because of the high costs of the Sahara war are becoming increasingly destitute; even more Moroccans than before should find jobs in Libya. Al-Qadhdhafi possibly hopes to emerge, with Morocco's help, from the international isolation into which his revolutionary and unpredictable messianism has thrown him. The colonel can no longer overlook the demonstrations of dissatisfaction in his own country.

Practically all the neighboring countries reacted negatively, though cautiously, to the alliance of the two states so opposite in foreign policy. The Algerian government newspaper EL MOUDJAHID wrote tersely: "The normalization of relations between the countries of northern Africa depends on a solution of the conflict in the Western Sahara. A solution to this conflict can only be reached by way of direct negotiations between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front. The result of these negotiations must be a referendum of self-determination in the Western Sahara. Morocco must respect the plan drawn up by the Organization of African Unity for ending the Sahara war. The agreement between Tunisia, Mauritania and Algeria remains the foundation for a true and credible union of the Maghreb states."

Tunisia's government, always at pains not to sharpen the already existing conflicts with its unpredictable and rich neighbor Libya, announced "serious misgivings" about the plan of a Libyan-Moroccan unification; this could, according to Tunis, lead to "a heightened rivalry in north-west Africa." Tunisia reaffirmed its solidarity with Algeria. The Minister of Information for the Arab-Saharan Democratic Republic--that is, for the Polisario government--solemnly declared: "The treaty between Libya and Morocco will fail because its goal is to sell short the indomitable Saharan lion. But no one will be able to kill this lion." Even weak Mauritania, which lives in constant fear of Moroccan annexation attempts, spoke up: if Rabat were to put into effect its threats against Mauritania, its allies (Algeria and Tunisia) would rush to its aid.

There is also concern in France and in Spain. For France, Libya is a military adversary in Chad. During the detailed conversations which President Mitterand carried out recently with Hasan, there was also talk of possible mediation by the Moroccan king in the Chad conflict. After his trip to Algeria and Tunisia, French Foreign Minister Cheysson appeared to be impressed by the misgivings of these two countries with respect to the new alliance. Cheysson also explicitly acknowledged the right

of the Saharans to self-determination. While al-Qadhdhafi attacks and abuses the French government on almost a daily basis, Paris maintains close relations with the other northern African states, including Morocco.

In announcing the new alliance, Hassan II did not forget to threaten Madrid with the reclamation of the "two cities in the north"--meaning the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which belongs to Spain and are inhabited by Spaniards. Certainly the alliance, concluded in the eastern Moroccan city of Oujda, was not primarily aimed at Spain, yet the strategic situation has changed now, to Spain's disadvantage.

Al-Qadhdhafi is promising to stand by Morocco militarily in case of attack by a third power. Libya has an impressive military arsenal at its disposal, even if the effectiveness of these weapons and the ability of the Libyan soldiers to handle them need not create too much fear in potential adversaries of al-Qadhdhafi, based on previous experiences. The Spanish government is indeed right in viewing the comparison of respective weapons arsenals as scarcely meaningful; nevertheless, the Spanish general staff immediately convened in order to discuss the new strategic situation in case of a conflict over Ceuta and Melilla.

With the Oujda agreement, Hasan II has regained the support of all the political forces in his country and of the majority of the population. One might smile at the figure of 99.70 percent yes-votes, but the mood during the referendum leaves no doubt that most Moroccans welcome the agreement. Moroccan nationalism, regaining strength through the support of al-Qadhdhafi (and with his money) must be feared by its neighbors, by Algeria and especially by Spain.

There remains only the reaction of Washington, which has up to now been heard only in the form of very cautious criticism. It must appear strange to the American government suddenly to find its closest ally in northern Africa in a political and military union with its most important adversary in the region. Should the United States ever become involved in a military conflict with Libya, then the Moroccan armed forces, which were equipped, largely financed for and also trained by the United States, would have to enter on the side of Libya. It may indeed be the case that Hasan informed Washington of his alliance plans beforehand, and the Americans are hoping for a moderating influence on the capricious Libyan head of state by the clever king. Some observers are even putting forth the daring thesis that, although al-Qadhdhafi threatens the Americans at least once a week with a new Vietnam, he is now interested in rapprochement with Washington.

12271

CSO: 4620/59

NEW 5-YEAR PLAN ASSESSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 234, 4-10 Aug 84 pp 23-24

/Article: "Algeria: Bendjedid is Placing a New Stamp on the 5-Year Plan"/

/Text/ During the upcoming period until the first months of 1985, Algeria will be waging what is called here "the battle of preparing the new 5-year plan."

After the cabinet approves the 5-year plan project, it will wait for the plan to be presented to the Parliament. Along with that it will be widely publicized to make the details and aims of the plan known, and to inform the people and mobilize them to implement it. This plan is considered the first to be prepared during President Chadli Bendjedid's term, because the current plan, work on which will end at the end of the year, was mostly prepared during the term of his late predecessor, and at the time President Chadli Bendjedid did not hold power in Algeria.

Therefore, the new plan has a new stamp on it, compared to the previous plans. Even if the overall aims remain the same, the methods are new, especially since the architect of the new economic policy in Algeria, Mr Abdelhamid Brahimi, became prime minister. He was appointed to his new post at the beginning of the year, after he had been minister for the plan for years, and had introduced the Algerian economy to new concepts which are based upon a number of directions:

--Continuation of development efforts.

--Changing the methods is such a way to include greater benefit and halt the decline resulting from excessive government monopoly.

--Responding to the needs of the citizen and giving new priority to the field of satisfying demands for consumer products and housing.

--To again give attention to farming and promoting agricultural production, after attention had been focused for a long time only on heavy industry.

--To bring reason to the industrial sector and restructure it by dividing the huge units and diversifying them according to specialty in a way that allows them to control their affairs and be beneficial to their work.

--To re-evaluate the sector in order to push it towards participating in the economic revival.

For even if Algeria had been able during the Boumidienne era to establish a broad-based and advanced industrial base, it would not have been able to control the matter of managing the industry and making it beneficial and actually capable of affecting the national economy in a positive way and participating in improving the lot of the Algerian nation and responding to its basic needs in the fields of education, employment, housing, health, and making consumer products available in the markets.

Burden on the People

It got to be that this industry, for whose sake and the sake of its establishment the Algerian people made great sacrifices, became a burden on their lives.

About 3 years ago, the well-known economist Abdelhamid Brahimi began to review what until then had been considered indisputable facts, in order to bring life back to an economy that had become a drain on the huge resources available to Algeria, and of no benefit to the Algerian individual.

This minister first took charge of the Ministry of Planning, whence he set up a team with a new spirit, aware of all the theories, and believing in the advantage. This is the team that is credited with conceiving the broad outlines of the new plan, and that was before political steps were taken by a government which had begun to feel the extent of the deadlock reached by a strong economy, which nevertheless stood upon feet of clay.

Abdelhamid Brahimi was later appointed prime minister, and began as if he intended to obtain a general consensus for the new ideas which he had brought, and to obtain the authorization to implement and pursue them.

What is sure is that resolution of the new plan is the first step towards effective application of the policy which Brahimi has called for and is calling for. Brahimi is considered to be one of the economics experts in Algeria; at the same time he is one of those who have kept their hands clean and their reputations spotless, and he is a man who is faithful to his ideas and his country.

However, that does not mean that the implementation of the upcoming plan will begin under favorable circumstances. Even if authorities in Algeria can overcome those who oppose the new directions and those who call for the preservation of already authorized options because they maintain the purity of socialist behavior, that will not keep the Algerian Government from having to face a number of factors that either hinder it or are not suitable in the closest possibilities:

1. The international economic environment:

This environment in which the signs of crisis are getting worse and the disruption of the international fuels market and the lack of signs that prices or

demand might improve are some of the obstacles which force Algeria to begin its new plan amid a situation whose conditions are difficult to control and which will be difficult to benefit from more, as was the case a few years ago.

2. Internal obstacles which oppose the Algerian Government's desire to mobilize all resources for fulfilling an ambitious plan, but one having new directions. That is because it is difficult to change the mentality of Algerian second level economic "barons," after the removal of top level "barons." Those who lived during the period of complete nationalization and of huge establishments with far flung borders which did not know their own limits, something which weakened designation of responsibilities and clouded vision--even if it had not facilitated all acts of suspicious behavior--these do not easily accept these new ways which are presented to them and which aim first and foremost at stopping signs of waste and controlling the undertaking of projects, in general, "undertaking economic development in the country." Because even if Algeria were a rich country, that does not mean that wealth should be squandered on unproductive projects or on turnkey factories, whose high costs sometimes exceed 50 to 100 percent.

Three Conditions

Therefore, and within the framework of trying to overcome this second obstacle, three conditions for proper conduct were outlined:

1--Reduce expenditures and deadlines of completing investments.

2--Stop resorting to foreign resources and services for completion, and control the start of new projects.

3--Engage the benefits of the production system and the available human and material resources in achieving that goal.

What is new in this plan is the return of agriculture to a prominent position among the investments. Fifteen percent of all investments have been set aside for the agricultural sector, and the jump by agriculture to this level, after industry by itself had been taking the lion's share of investments, is what reveals a number of facts that the Algerian authorities have come to understand:

1--The need to develop agriculture to provide the essential needs of the country, after it had become an importer of the important food requirements, even though it was a rich agricultural country.

2--Keeping the rural population on their land and encouraging them to work it, which would bring about the first goal, and at the same time could halt emigration to the cities, which has caused disruptions that can no longer be kept quiet about in this bad situation that the cities have begun to complain about. They are unable to meet the demands for housing, health, education and hygiene in the face of the phenomenon of rural emigration, the result of people's unwillingness to work in agriculture. And that is the result of the policy of state involving itself in everything pertaining to one aspect, and neglecting the sector which should be the basis of the economy of a country which is still undeveloped.

Likewise, there are sectors which were neglected during the Boumedienne period that will see a great spurt forward in the new plan--such as the housing sector, which suffers from a crisis no-one knows how to overcome. It is the result of serious delays in responding to needs which were left unattended to for more than 15 years at a time when Algeria was experiencing great increases in population. In addition to that, mentalities were changing, accompanied by housing demands that corresponded to the actual standard (of living) of the Algerian individual in the eighties, which is much higher than what it was at the beginning of the sixties.

12547

CSO: 4504/404

EXCESSIVE LEGISLATIVE ACTION ATTACKED

Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 404, 22 Jul 84 pp 30-31

[Article by Muhammad Najm: "Who Will Rescue Egypt From Legislative Inflation?"]

[Text] Egypt suffers from a critical and virtually unique problem: the overabundance and diversity of legislative measures on a given subject. This undoubtedly has an effect on many walks of life. It is enough to know that in the last 30 years some 6,133 original laws have been passed with double this number of secondary laws, not to mention the laws handed down to us. Is it possible for any human mind, no matter how gifted, to comprehend this huge number of laws? We believe not!

We believe that we do not exaggerate the situation by demanding that Egyptian society be rescued from this dangerous phenomenon, which men of law have termed "legislative inflation." Whatever it is called, this phenomenon exists, and there is no doubt that these thousands and thousands of laws have come to represent a very serious problem, both from the standpoint of completely understanding them and from the standpoint of keeping up with their amendments, which amount to dozens in some cases. Without a doubt, this problem will grow in severity and gravity in the future if this legislative flood continues.

The first effects of this dangerous problem will be felt by the ordinary citizen, whose relations within society the laws are presumably issued to regulate. It is no secret that one of the basic principles in any legislative activity is the presumption that the citizen has knowledge of the law, even if he in fact does not have legal knowledge. The converse of this presumption is not subject to proof. In other words, no individual is allowed to plead ignorance of the law. The basis of the principle is that so long as it is within the power of an individual to gain knowledge of the law, he cannot plead lack of knowledge or ignorance of legislation that has been issued. But is it within the ability of the average citizen to gain such knowledge? We hasten to deny this. Why? Because the source of knowledge of laws, which is the official source in Egypt, is the official newspaper. This is a government newspaper issued twice a week. But this paper is not available on the market. In other words, it is not distributed by the daily newspaper vendors. Rather, it is distributed to the official agencies and to the jurists and the few lawyers who subscribe to it.

Let us assume for the moment that the ordinary citizen could obtain issues of this newspaper, which is doubtful. Would he then have the capability to understand these thousands upon thousands of laws? We do not expect an answer. For how can he, for example, check a law issued 20 years ago to confirm whether it is still in force or has been repealed or amended? Of course, in such an instance he has no recourse but to study more than 2,000 copies of the official newspaper and examine thousands of pages in order to become familiar with the law in question and determine if it might have been repealed or amended by laws during this period. Is this reasonable?

Assuming that it is possible for a man of law to do this, can an ordinary citizen do the same? It is an almost impossible task. And this brings into question the principle of presumed knowledge of the law, which is the basis for subjecting the citizen to punishment when he violates a legal provision. The ordinary citizen is undoubtedly the victim here.

Aside from the foregoing arguments, the problem has another side which is extremely serious. This aspect relates to the judges who decide between opposing parties. The role of the judge is to apply the law in the cases that are brought before him. But is he capable of keeping up with this flood of laws so that he can be familiar with the details of each law in order to correctly apply the provisions of the law that should be applied to decide the cases brought before him?

At the beginning of the revolution, the Ministry of Justice began to issue monthly collections of laws under the title "Legislative Report." However, it was not long before the publication of these reports was interrupted because of the large number of laws passed and the thoroughness that was required to review them from time to time. It reached the point that the laws would not reach the judge until many months after passage. Unfortunately, the publication ultimately ceased publication in March 1980 for reasons we do not know. Consequently, the judges have ceased to be informed about new laws since that time!

Aside from the difficulty of obtaining this publication, the inflation in the number of laws, the rapidity with which they are issued, and the publication of the laws in series that now run to thousands of pages without coordination or organization--all these factors have made the judge's job of following the issued laws and their amendments on a certain subject an extremely difficult task which takes up much of his time and effort. Moreover, there may still be harmful effects. In the midst of his difficult research, the judge often misses some important amendments that might affect the correctness of his decisions.

Now that we have indicated the seriousness of the problem, the time has come to look for the reasons. In doing this, we shall rely on two important sources whose sincerity no one can doubt. The first of these is the report of the Justice Branch of the Specialized National Councils concerning the pursuit of justice in Egypt. The second source is a report which is short in length but strong in content prepared by consultant Dr Ahmad Rif'at Khafaji, director of administrative representation. The first source was

written by specialized jurists. The second was prepared by one of Egypt's jurists who served as head of the Court of Ethics in his last post and director of the Legislative Department of the Ministry of Justice prior to that, not to mention his judicial and university experience, his scientific qualifications, and his productivity in the field of law. He has written 96 books and reports in Arabic, 38 books and reports in French, and 3 in English covering various branches of the law.

The problem of legislative inflation in Egypt is due to a number of causes. The obvious causes include the profound transformation created by the revolution in the economic and social spheres of Egyptian society, the instability of policies governing various phases of activity in the state during the past 30 years, and the rapidity with which these policies have been changed and reversed with the instability and transience this has caused in legislation. But aside from all these causes, there is another group of extremely important factors that helped bring about this continuous increase in the number of laws during this period.

The first of these factors is the use of legislation for an inappropriate function. It is generally known that the function of laws is purely organizational. Laws are issued primarily to organize relationships within society. However, it is apparent that we in Egypt have used laws to solve the public problems that have increased in recent years. Is this attributable to the idea that has taken root in people's minds that legislative solutions are the easiest and least expensive?

Without a doubt, legislative solutions are of no benefit in the solution of any problem because solving problems is not a function of legislation. Economic problems, for example, cannot be solved by legislation. Rather, they are subject to the law of supply and demand. Any problem must be dealt with by working to eliminate its causes. Legislative solutions have no appreciable benefit in dealing with any problem. In fact, they often have negative effects that make the problem more severe and more complicated. The best example of that is the increasing legislative interference with the housing problem. Many conditions have been imposed on the owner, which has caused many people to refrain from investing in the construction field. The solution of problems through legislation without eliminating their causes can lead to only one result: the increase of both legislation and problems.

Perhaps the second cause of the problem is represented by the multiplicity of laws on a single subject, i.e., the passage of numerous laws to regulate various aspects of a subject. This leads to the issuance of many laws that could have been combined in one law. It is said that the reason for this multiplicity of laws is that the various aspects of a single activity may fall under the jurisdiction of a number of ministries, in which case each ministry tries to bring out legislation to regulate the particular aspect under its jurisdiction without considering the activity as a whole. If this is truly a cause, it is an extremely vile excuse. The best example of an excessive number of laws is the cooperative laws. In this case, the original and secondary laws have multiplied in a system which has unity as one of its most important characteristics.

The third cause of the problem is the large number of legislative agencies in Egypt along with the inadequacy of the studies necessary to prepare the legislation. There is in Egypt no single central agency that controls the proposal and preparation of legislation. While the People's Assembly is responsible for issuing legislation, there are decrees by law issued by the president as well as decrees issued by the ministers and others. A quick examination of the agencies to which the legislator has given the right to propose laws will provide an indication of the dangerous proliferation of legislative agencies in Egypt. Examples include the legal departments of the ministries, the legislative section of the Supreme Administrative Court, the legislative department of the Ministry of Justice, the Council of Ministers, the minister of state for cabinet affairs, the minister of state for People's Assembly affairs, and the committees and members of the People's Assembly. All these agencies have the right to propose laws. In fact, some of them have absolute authority to issue laws or decrees without review by other agencies.

It is strange that in spite of the large number of legislative measures in most cases, bills in Egypt do not receive sufficient objective study when they are written. In no time at all, practical application reveals that the law contradicts other legislation, is superficial, and is in conflict with basic principles of law. The most serious example of that--of the phenomenon of scarred laws--is Law 53 issued in 1949 with regard to public roads. Article 13 of this law stipulates that anyone who encroaches upon the public roads will be punished by imprisonment--imprisonment, no less!--for a period not to exceed 1 month and by a fine not to exceed 10 pounds or by either one of these two punishments. However, the punishment of imprisonment, according to Article 16 of the Law of Punishments, is for a period of not less than 3 years. Undoubtedly, the legislator meant punishment by detention rather than the punishment of imprisonment. However, the precise term escaped him, which caused a certain amount of debate and questioning from the time the law was first applied until it was amended in 1968 and the punishment was changed from imprisonment to detention.

Some laws have been amended more than 40 times. In fact, Law No 210 of 1951 concerning state employees was amended 88 times during a period of 13 years before it was repealed in 1964. It is evident that the amendment of one law 88 times means that 89 laws are issued on that single subject. Is this reasonable?

The final cause of the problem, though not the least of them, is the various outmoded laws inherited from eras prior to the revolution. There is a group of laws which have lost all connection with the era in which we are living. One example will suffice: the maritime law issued in 1883, which was based on a French law issued in 1807, which in turn was based on a law issued in 1681 by order of King Louis XIV. This means that we are applying a law in the 20th century that was drawn up in the 17th century--a law that talks about ships powered by sail in an era in which ships are powered by nuclear energy!

A second example is the trade law issued in 1983, which still talks about "the deputy of his highness the khedive" and describes trade activity as "buying produce and crops with the aim of selling them."

If we were to review the laws currently applied from the date of issuance, the numerous amendments made to these laws, and the extent to which this legislation and its amendments is appropriate for various phases of life in the 20th century we would need volumes and all the issues of the magazine UKTUBAR from the date the legislation was issued to an indefinite time. The matter is certainly serious. Many agencies have researched, studied, written, and published, but none have acted. Why? We do not know. Who will carry out the treatment if the doctor is the cause of his own diseases and needs treatment?

However, since the deputy minister of justice and former socialist prosecutor acknowledged the need for a solution to the problem and gave examples of its seriousness, hope has been renewed in the current People's Assembly that the assembly will study the problem with patience, perseverance, depth, and knowledge and will deal with it through amputation rather than sedatives.

The sources that we rely on in this matter propose the establishment of one central agency to achieve the necessary link among the state organizations involved with legislation. They also propose that a ministry of state for legislation affairs be established under the leadership of the prime minister to undertake the responsibility of receiving proposals for legislation from the various ministries. This ministry would coordinate the proposals, give them careful study from the standpoints of subject and legal merit, send them to the Supreme Administrative Court for review of their wording from the legal standpoint, and then follow the bills until passage by the People's Assembly.

This would not be an innovation. Kuwait has established a ministry of state for legal affairs to prepare studies and supervise legislative work. Similarly, Sudan has established the Office of the Public Prosecutor which has the same function as the ministry of state in Kuwait. The two sources have set out the responsibilities of the ministry that should be established and have delineated its benefits and its methods of operation. These references are available for anyone who wishes to examine, borrow, or use them.

Lastly, I hope that we do not forget that the constitution states in Article 64 that the sovereignty of the law is the basis of government in the state.

8591

CSO: 4504/396

GOVERNMENT TAKING STEPS TO STIMULATE INVESTMENT

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 69, 4 Aug 84 pp 18-19

[Article by 'Abd-al-Qadir Shuhayb: "The New Government Is Not Rushing Into Change, Yet Is Moving Quickly To Set Its Priorities; the Stage of Adapting Solutions to Challenges"]

[Text] One feature which has marked the recent domestic situation in Egypt has been President Husni Mubarak's concentrated effort to reconcile aspirations with reality. The recent cabinet change was an extension of this concept, which to a great extent bears in mind the important juncture where Egypt is now standing, be it with respect to domestic issues of concern to the Egyptian citizen or with respect to Arab and international developments. Therefore, anyone observing the shape of the new Egyptian government will immediately notice that its make up conforms to the nature of the coming phase. It will be perfectly clear that the government's reaction to the protracted problems is not so much a change in domestic policy as it is an adjustment of priorities.

At its first meeting, the new Egyptian government decided to concentrate its efforts and its concern on solving Egypt's economic problems, especially since the solutions can no longer be put off. Therefore, the experts at the Egyptian Ministry of Planning will now begin preparing the second 5-year economic development plan in light of those objectives of the current 5-year plan which have been achieved, as well as in light of that plan's goals during its remaining years, so as to make it easier to begin implementing the new development plan as soon as the current one ends.

Kamal Hasan 'Ali's statements, or rather the information received by AL-TADAMUN, indicate that the general guidelines of economic policy will not change. Indeed, the policies implemented by the previous Egyptian government, under Prime Minister Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, will continue to be applied. There are two important reasons for the new Egyptian administration's holding back. First, the new government is determined to continue carrying out the economic program begun by the former government and has no intention of renouncing or changing it. It intends to implement the new economic plan as soon as the existing one ends. The second reason boils down to the fact that the party which won the elections is the National Democratic Party, which has governed before in Egypt. In that regard, even though there have

been widespread changes within the party ranks, they have not been so profound as to change this party's economic philosophy.

However, the ultimate reason is the large majority by which the National Democratic Party won the elections, which will allow the party to make a certain amount of change in economic policy by dealing with pending issues, which the party had put off for fear of losing popularity and being hurt in the parliamentary elections, as was the case with the reduction in subsidies, the raising of prices for public sector companies, the proposing of solutions for dealing with the general budget deficit, and the devaluation of the Egyptian pound.

The new Egyptian administration feels that dealing with these problems and issues which had been put off does not constitute a change in existing government policy but amounts simply to putting emphasis on some issues and to an adjustment of priorities facing the Egyptian government.

In the economic sphere, the most important matters the new government will concern itself with will be stimulating the Egyptian private sector, increasing its participation in implementing the development plan and getting it to play a bigger part in Egyptian investment.

Follow-up reports on the implementation of the economic development plan, which Kamal Hasan 'Ali has been busy reviewing lately, have revealed the existence of an estimated 800 million Egyptian pound deficit, during the first 2 years, in the private sector investment plan. That is equal to a quarter of the investments which the plan assigned to this sector over those 2 years. Hence investments of approximately 3.1 billion pounds were targeted for this 2-year period whereas the total investment actually made amounted to 2.4 billion pounds of which 1.3 billion were implemented last year.

That took place under conditions whereby the former government granted the private sector extensive assistance and support and granted local Egyptian capital all the privileges given to foreign capital after the promulgation of a new corporate law similar to the investment law regulating foreign capital investment operations. There were also the decisions to lower interest rates on loans and credit facilities offered to Egyptian investors to finance industrial or agricultural projects compared with the interest on commercial loans.

The new Egyptian administration feels that if conditions continue thus within the Egyptian private sector then by the end of the 5-year plan, the investments in that sector will be no more than 6.3 billion pounds which would be 2.1 billion pounds short of the total amount of investments set in the plan. This will pose a great burden on the Egyptian economy during the second development plan.

This explains the concern being given to concentrated efforts to stimulate the role of the Egyptian private sector and to get it to increase its investments so as to meet the level set forth in the economic development plan.

Therefore, with the new Egyptian government more facilities for Egyptian investors, as well as greater support for them, can be expected. Observers

agree that this assistance will include easing procedures for approving new investment projects or expanding existing ones, offering more easy-term loans for some Egyptian investment projects such as foodstuff projects, or food self-sufficiency projects as they are called in Egypt, and drawing up a list of carefully studied projects and circulating it abroad, especially among Egyptians working overseas, to induce them to invest their funds and savings in investment projects within Egypt instead of depositing them in banks.

Along with this, the more than 70 banks now operating in Egypt will be encouraged to ease credit procedures and to provide loans for the Egyptian private sector. These banks now possess vast financial surpluses because deposits in them doubled after the previous government imposed restrictions on granting credit for the financing of trade. The Egyptian Central Bank had instructed these banks to grant no more than 1 percent of their deposits in commercial credit each month.

One proposal now being discussed and studied calls for obliging the banks in Egypt to invest a portion or a percentage of their deposits in Egyptian investment projects, either existing ones or new ones, as well as obliging them to deposit 15 percent of their deposits in the Egyptian Central Bank. In general, these banks are restricted in providing credit because their instructions from the Central Bank call for them to offer credit not exceeding 65 percent of their total deposits.

The new Egyptian government will also concern itself more with the question of reducing the general budget deficit in order to control inflation and rising prices.

It has been decided to reduce the net deficit in the new Egyptian fiscal budget by a larger percentage than the reduction achieved during the current general fiscal budget. This percentage will amount to about 23 percent.

Naturally, this will require an exhaustive review of all the general expenditure clauses, primarily the subsidies allocated for basic commodities, as well as the clauses pertaining to general revenues, especially tax and customs revenues.

8559

CSO: 4504/414

ROLE OF NEW TECHNOLOGY IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Labib al-Saba'i: "New Role for Technology, Scientific Research in Agricultural and Industrial Development; Centers for Scientific Research in Industrial Units"]

[Text] At the first meeting of the Council of Ministers immediately after it was formed, President Husni Mubarak confirmed the importance of economic issues, especially achieving agricultural development and modernizing Egyptian industry, to fill the needs of the local market on one hand and then to launch the export stage, on the other. The importance of the trend toward relying on scientific research to achieve the desired development of the agricultural and industrial sectors becomes clear.

Dr Isma'il al-'Awamiri, professor in the College of Commerce of 'Ayn Shams University, says that it is no longer conceivable that the Egyptian production and service sectors should remain in one camp and scientific research in the universities and outside them should remain in another.

Therefore, scientific research must have a new role fundamentally linked with the form of development. From another aspect, the universities have a clear role in studying national problems and industrial and agricultural issues, but it is certain that there is a kind of network separation between the applied and scientific research the universities are conducting and the problems of the state's production and service sectors.

In the case of agricultural development, it has become certain, according to several studies obtained by the specialized national councils, the research centers in the universities or the Ministry of Agriculture, that the average national food production in Egypt is not keeping pace with the rate of population growth, despite efforts by the state to achieve this balance. Treatment of this problem requires the effective participation of scientific research, coordination of all state agencies, and implementation of mass education programs to convince the people to accept the decisions which have been made. These start from the premise of the importance of agriculture as a basic pillar of the economic structure and the development of the national economy, since agriculture bears the responsibility of filling the needs of local consumption, whether it is agricultural food production or agricultural production necessary for the industrial sector.

Dr Isma'il al-'Awamiri adds that the importance of the role of scientific research and technology in developing work and performance methods rests on two bases. The first of these is conformity to the goals of the state's complete development plan. The second is the conversion of Egyptian society from an importing consumer society to an exporting producer society, and the third is having scientific research become a category for investment. The state's agricultural development plan is concentrated on a group of complementary and well-ordered programs to stimulate production in the agricultural production sectors in accordance with priorities, including grain crops, vegetables, fruit and livestock production.

Dr Isma'il al-'Awamiri added that in the field of industry, the role of scientific research lies in the need to concentrate on developing existing technology, which relies on local services such as the spinning and weaving industries and the food industries. The challenge facing scientific research is to reach the stage of export to foreign markets of completely manufactured goods and products, rather than exporting them in the form of raw materials. Scientific research must play a part in studying the problems facing industry and must participate in solving them, work to increase the productive efficiency of factories, investigate ways of utilizing industrial scraps to increase revenue from industry, train workers in factories to give them scientific expertise in addition to practical experience, design programs for short-term and long-term increases for workers in the scientific research and industrial sectors, establish scientific research units in the factories and support them with scientific knowledge. The industrial sector is to allocate no less than 5 percent of its budget for purposes of scientific research on issues and problems linked to the industrial production sector, which should bring about a constant transfer of industrial technology so that the industrial sector participates with scientific research in conducting these studies and research.

7587

CSO: 4504/384

CAMPAIGN TO PROTECT SOIL, FISHERY RESOURCES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Hasan Salumah: "Minister of Agriculture Discusses Results of Erosion of Agricultural Land: Even Public Sector Participated in Ruining Soil."]

[Text] Dr Yusuf Wali, Minister of Agriculture and Food Security discussed results of a campaign to combat agricultural soil erosion with Eng Mahmud 'Azmi Abu Husayn, head of the Executive Agency for Soil Improvement Projects, after the agency was put in charge of preserving agricultural land. That campaign included the governorates of Bani Suwayf and Aswan, with the participation of the directorates of security and the directorates of agriculture in the two governorates. The head of the executive agency said that the crimes of erosion which were committed in Bani Suwayf do not lie hidden but are clearly visible, and unlicensed brick factories stand before any officer of the law.

One of the brick factories in Aswan is owned by the public sector which leased 27 feddans of reclaimed agricultural land and built a factory on part of it. The other part is eroded to depths of 1 to 6 meters, in spite of the rarity of agricultural land in Aswan. The value of the earth which was recorded in the Bani Suwayf campaign is estimated at about 4 million pounds, not including the soil which was washed away. Its value is estimated at about 3.5 million pounds. In Bani Suwayf, 41 agricultural tractors, 48 trailers, one loader, and two dump trucks were registered. It is strange that the registered tractors had been imported by the cooperative societies for the advantage of the farmers and enjoyed customs exemptions, but rather than using them to increase the productivity of the land, the farmers used them to destroy the land. There is some discussion of punishing the peasant who commits that crime by making him pay the customs fees from which he received an exemption, and warning the agricultural society to which he belongs.

The campaigns included the field of fishery resources and violations of the fishing law to assist the Ministry of Supply. It is strange that the records of the fish marketing company in Aswan recorded the import of 6 tons on 16 June, the day before the campaigns, yet this figure rose to 122,500 tons imported on 20 June. It is certain that those who participate in causing erosion and those who smuggle fish are among the harmful factors in

Egyptian society, because they produce illegal resources without paying taxes. Accounting by the Department to Fight Tax Evasion confirms reports that the public and private sectors are playing a dangerous role in environmental pollution, in addition to the exhaustion of water resources because of the spread of plants along the Nile.

Studies prepared by Maj Gen Munir M haysin, General Director for Surface Water in the Ministry of the Interior, confirmed that the districts of al-Wasta, Bush and Baba in Bani Suwayf are considered among the most dangerous areas for the brick industry in Egypt. That industry uses many methods to obtain soil eroded from various regions. Marginal violations were recorded in the brick factories, since they stole electrical current through illegal connections and kept no records of it. In Bani Suwayf, violations recorded included 32 fishing violations, 12 unlicensed vehicles, and eight barges in violation of the river navigation act. During the course of the campaign, there were 20 cases of smuggling supplies from and to the governorate of Bani Suwayf, and five cases of possessing unlicensed weapons and ammunition.

There are innumerable negative sides to the productivity of fishing in the High Dam Lake, such as methods of fishing which violate the law and decisions to achieve a profit margin surpassing the fixed prices. These violations endanger lives, individuals, goods and tourists. Steps have been taken to protest Sudanese students during their return to sister Sudan on their annual vacation. It was decided to make arrangements for meals for the students and passengers waiting at Aswan through coordination between the Nile Valley Authority and the governorate of Aswan. Fifteen incidents of violations were reported in the river units used to transport tourists.

7587

CSO: 4504/384

STUDIES DONE ON PRODUCING ELECTRICITY FROM WATERFALLS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Jul 84 p 9

[Text] According to the recent technical reports on the al-Kabir project, its initial costs are in the neighborhood of a billion pounds, in addition to the cost of providing electricity to the Delta, Cairo, Alexandria, and the Western Desert region as far as our western al-Salum borders. Work on the project will begin next year and is scheduled to be completed by 1991. The Executive Agency for the al-Qatarah Depression Project has completed construction for the experts and workers on the advanced studies, research and details of the project to generate electricity from its waterfalls, in the workers' community near the site.

Reports of foreign and Egyptian experts outlined the merits of this huge project. In addition to generating electricity, implementing it will achieve many benefits. It will raise the ground water level in al-Wahat and the northern part of the Western Desert and the northwestern coast, which will aid agricultural expansion in the framework of groundcover for the surface of the desert.

It will make use of the reservoir and the water lines for breeding fish, and as a result of the project, the lake of the Qatarah Depression will be converted into a huge source of fishing resources, along the lines of the High Dam Lake.

It will create the largest natural source in Egypt for the production of salt and its byproducts.

It will moderate the climate of the region and create a huge tourist attraction, while creating a tourist community for the area.

An informed source in the al-Qatarah Agency stated that the governments of West Germany and Sweden had offered technical and financial aid to the Egyptian government to research and implement the project. The project's executive agency is now involved in preliminary research and planning, in preparation for work to begin in early 1985.

7587

CSO: 4504/384

FORMER PRIME MINISTER, PARTY LEADER MAATI BOUABID INTERVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 70, 11 Aug 84 pp 16-17

[Interview with Maati Bouabid, head of the Constitutional Union Party, by Abou Bakr al-Sadiq al-Sharif: "Respect for Regional Sovereignty Is Condition for Achieving Moroccan Unity"; Rabat, date unspecified]

[Text] Although the philosophy of government in Morocco allows anyone, who feels he has the ability, to form a political party, Maati Bouabid, former prime minister and current minister of state, grew up on the Moroccan political scene. He was among the nationalist youth included in the first Moroccan government which was led by the left and headed by Abdallah Brahim in 1958. He was one of the most prominent young parliamentarians in the first Moroccan parliament in 1963. Moreover, he is a brilliant lawyer. He was one of the most prominent figures defending the National Union of Popular Forces in the summer of 1963 in the trials of what was called at the time "the conspiracy" to overthrow the regime.

More than one observer considers Maati Bouabid to be among the few Moroccan politicians who have a talent for establishing contact with the masses and working side by side with them in social work. Here one notes the period between 1965 and 1975 when he left the political scene and devoted himself to running the sports team "al-Raja' al-Baidawi." He elevated it to the maximum one dreams about on the green playing fields.

Nevertheless, when Maati Bouabid announced the founding of the Constitutional Union Party during his final days as prime minister, he astonished everyone and provoked criticism from various political parties, including parties of the left. Mehdi Ben Barka, Abdallah Brahim and Abderrahim Bouabid were closely associated with the symbols of those parties of the left throughout the most productive stages of modern Moroccan political history.

The leftists considered the party of Maati Bouabid to be "fast food" intended for the municipal and legislative elections announced at the time. The traditional parties did not hesitate to accuse the Constitutional Union Party of using government influence to obtain the greatest share in municipal and communal elections held several weeks after the party was formed. Parties of the center considered creation of the Constitutional Union to be a symptom of the "dilution of the political scene."

AL-TADAMUN collected all items concerning this matter and went to Maati Bouabid to ask him about his party, the Moroccan situation and other Arab problems. The following is the text of the interview.

[Question] We will begin with a question about the storm of criticism your party met at the time it was founded. You faced it with nonchalance and indifference. The question is why?

[Answer] First, it should be clear in everyone's mind that the various political organizations have complete supervision with regard to the circumstances in which elections are carried out and that the office of the prime minister does not conduct the elections. At the same time, there are laws defining responsibilities. The Moroccan legal system always is fully prepared to render judgment on any tendencies which aim at curtailing or limiting the citizen's exercise of his democratic rights or indicate the lightest election fraud or dishonesty. Without going into detail, I will content myself simply with bringing up an objective fact. The response with which our Constitutional Union Party met in the elections of 10 June for municipal councils and village communes was actually the effect of the new course adopted by us as a party, raising the banner of defense of a generation after independence.

[Question] In conjunction with the former question, does this mean that results of the municipal and village elections may be considered a gauge of the legislative elections scheduled for next 14 September?

[Answer] As for our hopes regarding results of the coming elections, what concerns us is to seek to bring about the democratic experiment in Morocco. I am not reporting anything new if I say that it is common practice, in Third World countries, to have criticism and recrimination whenever elections results are announced. Where there is a winner, there is a loser. There are also those who criticize and those who justify failure or success. Our goal in the Constitutional Union is for criticism or justification to be not at the expense of democratic content in applied practice, but choices we are proud of and defend.

[Question] This prompts us to ask about the course of the Constitutional Union and its position on the political scene.

[Answer] Throughout the political experiments Morocco has known in the years following independence, it appears clearly that youth groups have not received the attention they deserve, whether in political dissertations or applied practice. The questions of youth, and youth incidentally constitutes a large percentage of the Moroccan population, have become a domain of public auction and accusations of wrongdoing, facing problems which push it at times to the brink of despair and doubt about values. With this premise, we in the Constitutional Union feel that there is a real void which must be confronted, not by raising the problems of the new generation of Moroccans, but basically by encouraging them to assume responsibility and participate in all aspects of national endeavor. It is worth noting here that we in the Constitutional Union Party have relied on

the means of debate first to determine how receptive public opinion is to ideas. In addition, we held a series of meetings which preceded the founding conference. Even now we still continue to make these contacts in order to probe deeply into the fateful problems which the Moroccan people are facing in all domains.

In benefitting from the possibilities given us in the multiple-party system which distinguishes democratic choice in Morocco, we created out of the formulas for this multi-party system broad opportunities to kindle the principle of effective participation of all vital forces in the running of the country.

[Question] The formation of a new party in Morocco always has been linked to the division of a party or the withdrawal by choice from one party to go to a new party. Your party has broken this rule. We also note that new parties rush to make a series of promises and slogans defining their commitment to a certain segment of the population or several segments with common aspirations. Our question is why your party bypassed this rule and what does it mean?

[Answer] This phenomenon which distinguishes the Constitutional Union Party basically is a result of our adopting a new course in our political activity. It is not based on monopoly or the kindling of regional tendencies. It holds that all Moroccans have the legitimate right to political activity. Therefore, it was natural for us to talk with all groups to form a responsible political organization capable of embracing the real concern of the Moroccan people. In addition, the phenomenon of having a monopoly on ideas and positions is what has made some political organizations see democratic practice as a kind of concession. There are those who claim they have a monopoly on nationalism. There are those who claim they have a monopoly on progressivism, and there are the claims of other positions and slogans. As a natural result of the extension of this phenomenon, we have come to see how parties reveal themselves.

As for us in the Constitutional Union, we want to be a party for everyone. Therefore, we proceeded from the beginning. Our abundant capital is the desire of the people to overcome being left on the sidelines and hopelessness.

[Question] The economic crisis is a worrisome question for everyone. How does your party assess it, and do you have an idea for treating it?

[Answer] Morocco does not live on an island isolated from the world. Because of this state of belonging, it suffers well-known economic and social problems. Some of them stem from reverberations of the world economic crisis. For example, there is the rise in the price of the dollar with respect to one bill (oil). Consequently, there is a rise in the cost of technological means essential for development, and there is a slump in phosphate prices which has hit Morocco over a period of 4 years. Morocco, incidentally, is an agricultural country above all. Other problems stem from fabricated disputes. They make us face certain hardships for which we pay a high price. However, we in the Constitutional Union Party are

aware of the dimension of these problems. We do not expect them to be solved easily. However, we believe nevertheless that encouraging free initiatives in the economic domain and establishing a district policy will bring decentralization to a level where economic regions will run themselves, just as these choices which we will undertake to defend guarantee the reinforcement of our efforts to overcome economic difficulties. Therefore, the ultimate goal of any development operation is to establish a balanced society. This aspiration can be achieved by embracing the social content of Islamic canonical law, with solidarity and mutual agreement among people.

[Question] Do you have a new idea for dealing with the Sahara conflict, especially in view of the fact that hopes pinned on the referendum have sunk to the point of zero? What is the position of your party on hot issues such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Gulf War and the situation in Lebanon?

[Answer] First, we are for the complete alignment of Arab and Islamic states, because we realize that the problems of this nation will not be solved by being the client of this camp or that. Arab and Islamic nations have long experience with the policy of reliance on others. Through self-reliance they can get out of the predicament in which they find themselves.

The struggle in essence is one-dimensional. It is an Arab, Islamic struggle in confronting modern imperialism, one of the instruments of which is Israel. It is most unfortunate that every time new axes of this old struggle are created. One time there are Arab-Arab conflicts, another time there is the Lebanese tragedy. We believe that these axes and others exhaust capabilities for the real confrontation. With the understanding of this situation by Arab and Islamic nations, it is hoped that the common national interest will be made triumphant and that we will begin fashioning a new era characterized by the establishment of Arab and Islamic solidarity, rejection of fabricated conflicts, and emergence in world society in a manner commanding respect and a serious attitude.

[Question] Also, how does the leader of the Constitutional Union Party view relations between Morocco and the two international camps?

[Answer] By virtue of its strategic location and history, Morocco has remained an axis-bestowing culture. The Moroccan people are open, because of this, but also very attached to their identity. On this basis, Morocco is constantly striving to establish balanced relations with all sides internationally. It is well-known, for instance, that we are bound by strong economic relations with the Soviet Union and a great number of countries in the Eastern camp. We are also bound by economic and commercial relations with the Western camp. However, this connection does not mean in any way whatsoever an attempt by Morocco to revolve in one orbit or another. What is important for us is to have balanced relations based on mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. When our self-interest, which does not conflict with our cultural affiliation and our Arab, Islamic and African commitments, requires that we talk with others, as equals, we will not hesitate to do that.

[Question] This does not deny the special character of Moroccan-U.S. relations?

[Answer] The concept of mutual balance in the internal policy of Morocco must be fulfilled on the international level. Therefore, we in the Constitutional Union feel that the required balance lies in distancing ourselves from the axes of hegemony, whatever their nature.

[Question] How does the Constitutional Union view the question of building the Greater Maghreb?

[Answer] We are among those calling for the creation of the Greater Maghreb. This question has remained the center of our concerns since the battle for independence. It has been proven beyond doubt that coordination among national liberation movements in countries of the Arab Maghreb was both strong and positive. Because of its unity, this Arab group was able to oppose foreign imperialism and achieve its political independence.

Because economic liberation and development are the most important features of liberation, at the beginning of the battles to bring about independence, a spirit of brotherhood and peaceful coexistence prevailed over a significant period in the life of the countries of the Greater Maghreb. We were able to translate our common orientations into achievements on many different levels. Recent years have witnessed a negative turn in the course of these orientations. Morocco has never been responsible for this failure. King Hassan II announced recently that this year must be for building the Arab Maghreb. We are still optimistic about these directives. However, based on the premise of striving for our territorial unity, respecting the sovereignty and unity of all states of the region and spreading the spirit of brotherhood and good neighborliness, we see that the operation of building the Greater Maghreb cannot take place at the expense of the regional sovereignty and territorial unity of any of the states of the area. We repeatedly support any positive step to build the Greater Arab Maghreb. Brotherhood and agreement are exemplified, we believe, by the commitment from us all to respect the sovereignty and unity of the nations of the region and establish relations of close and balanced cooperation guaranteeing achievement of the aspirations of the nations of the region. This is particularly true, since all of us, nations of the Arab Maghreb, are sentenced to peaceful coexistence under the formation of pivotal blocs which the world is witnessing.

7811
CSO: 4504/399

POPULAR FRONT VIEWS GULF ISSUES, U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 14, 27 Feb 84 pp 10-12

[Interview with Sa'id Sayf, member of the executive committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Bahrain: "Bahraini Opposition Confronting the Spring of the Mercenary Henderson"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The Popular Front for the Liberation of Bahrain responds to AL-NASHRAH's questions.

Gulf Cooperation Council encountering some successes in solving Bahrain's problems; repression spreads in the area.

Bilateral security treaty with Saudi Arabia imposed on the necks of nationalists.

We have achieved positive steps with the Bahraini Liberation Front as well as coordination under a suitable formula at the present time.

The reason some of the questions in this interview with the Popular Front in Bahrain are so broad is that we wanted to consolidate them in order to direct them to the rest of the opposition forces in Bahrain so that these can be a door through which groups can clarify their ideological and political positions. We did this, but we have not yet been able to obtain the responses of the rest of the forces for reasons related mainly to them.

The response of the Popular Front offer a fairly comprehensive idea of the Bahraini opposition's position and the position of Bahrain in general within the circle of the Arab Gulf, which now constitutes a situation which is heating up in the area, especially following the victory of the revolution against the shah in Iran and the effects it has left, and also following the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war.

Before learning the answers of the front, reference must first be made to the outstanding position of the masses in Bahrain, within the Arab Gulf, and the resulting movements and uprisings on the one hand and direct

repression on the other. In this milieu was formed the popular front, one of the important joints in the body of the active Bahraini opposition.

The founding of the front goes back to the (Hali) conference of 1971, which announced the birth of a unified Gulf front, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, which gave rise to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf-Bahrain Region in 1972. This organization soon became completely independent organizationally and politically, later taking the name the Popular Front in Bahrain after the mid-1974 second general national conference, which adopted a resolution stipulating the organizational independence of the organizations of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

The Popular Front in Bahrain is an organization committed to scientific socialism and considers itself an expression of the interests and struggles of the working class. It concentrates its phased struggle on eliminating the foreign presence, restoring democratic freedoms, and unifying the Gulf and the peninsula as a step on the road to total Arab unity.

The front has a central organ, 5 MARCH, and it also makes numerous theoretical and ideological contributions by issuing books and pamphlets. Its leadership is made up of a central committee from which is drawn in turn an executive committee for managing activities. Here is a moment with one of the central officials in it, executive committee member Sa'id Sayf, in an interview regarding conditions in the Gulf area, Bahrain in particular, and regarding matters related to the front itself.

[Question] The Arab Gulf is witnessing movements on several levels within the framework of what is said to be a final shake-out of the area. What are your ideas regarding this area? What is its effect on Bahrain, and, consequently, on your organization?

[Answer] Ever since the six Gulf states announced the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council on 4 February 1981, they have been moving forward in the direction of arranging the area in the interest of reactionary and imperialist circles. The GCC and its declared frameworks were formed; the kings and shaykhs have held four summit meetings and various ministers have also held several meetings within their particular areas of jurisdiction. We do not deny that the Saudi plan has achieved many steps and it has become difficult for them to turn back, with respect to the small statelets, the small-scale plans and the limited concerns.

In the middle of 1979 a special American working team was set up to study the strategy which the United States must adopt for the Middle East in general and for Gulf security in particular, especially following the victory of the Iranian revolution. The most significant decision which it made was that the United States had to put an effective military force on the horizon which would be able to move and assist its allies when necessary.

We now believe that this plan has started moving forward since the rapid deployment force and the U.S. Central Command have been formed and the United States has been given additional military facilities in the area. The Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Gulf now groan under the oppressiveness of the fleets of the United States, Great Britain and others.

In regard to Bahrain, there is increasing American interest in the facilities which the U.S. Navy is obtaining at al-Jufayr base, and our people have now begun to realize the extent of the danger which this poses for their independence, their sovereignty, and their national dignity, especially since the repercussions of the strategic cooperation between the United States and the Zionist entity have reached this area.

The GCC has expressed great interest in Bahrain so that the ruling family is in no less of an aristocratic position than its counterparts in the other gulf states. The GCC's strategy in solving social and economic problems in Bahrain have encountered some successes through the setting up of some joint economic projects in Bahrain and allowing the citizens to move about and go to work on an equal footing with the citizens of other GCC states. It has broadened the base of foreign labor, which it put at the bottom of societies of the gulf so they will have their great negative effects on the level of the area as a whole without significantly weakening, as is the situation in the other emirates, the position of the working class and the petit bourgeoisie class which have obtained broader opportunities for work than before.

The GCC has spread repression and our people have started to complain about Henderson and about [Saudi Minister of Interior] Nayif Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz and his American and Pakistani mercenaries working in the intelligence agencies. It is no longer just the state security law which governs the citizen; the bilateral security treaty with Saudi Arabia and the gulf security treaty have been imposed on the necks of the nationalists in our country.

However, things cannot have just a negative side. There are also useful positive points for the national movement, if we can make use of them.

The establishment of the GCC at the area level brought down the proponents of partition [of the Gulf states]; these proponents were from within the ruling families which wanted to preserve their thrones and the accumulating decadence behind them. Despite the fact that the present formula has not cleaned up the decadence, but instead gathered it together, it nevertheless showed the people the possibility of achieving unity and the need to struggle for it as a national and regional strategic goal.

With the establishment of the GCC and the signing of the economic, security, and other treaties, it was no longer just the waters of the reactionaries which flowed together in the watercourses; the waters of all the political opposition forces had to flow together.

Yesterday we were in solidarity with those imprisoned in Oman, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, just as the nationalists in those areas are in solidarity with us. It is no longer acceptable for us to consider ourselves outside the struggle now that the GCC has been established. We are now a part of the struggle in the kingdom, the Sultanate and elsewhere despite the rapid efforts being made by the regimes against the masses and their political movement against perpetual feudalism. They have become for us gulf missions which we must stand with and deal with whatever our humble capabilities for revolutionary action.

The opening of channels with one another simply to raise the low level of this or that regime in various fields will weaken the Bahraini nationalist movement and the Gulf in general in view of the movement's weakness in political centers. Instead, the solution lies in opening our channels with one another and achieving the greatest good from interaction among the masses so that we can transfer the revolutionary "germ" to the area as a whole. This is a difficult problem and requires collective effort by nationalists in the area as a whole.

[Question] The mass tide which Bahrain has witnessed (movements, strikes, struggles by nationalist forces, etc), seems to be falling off now. Do you agree with this, first of all? And what is your role vis-a-vis this falling off? Do you believe that this is a failure on your part vis-a-vis these premises?

[Answer] The progressive tide which Bahrain witnessed in 1979 and 1980 has undergone a noticeable falling off. This is attributable to the severe repression which the authorities are imposing on the opposition. A number of strugglers have died under torture during the past few years, and thousands of citizens have been put into prisons and detention camps.

Many of the nationalists have been forced to leave the country; moreover, the authorities have taken measures to withdraw passports and prevent from traveling a large number of those who are under restriction.

These years were the "most magnificent" spring of the mercenary, Henderson.

From another standpoint, there is clear-cut security coordination with Saudi Arabia, which did not hesitate to send its forces to Bahrain in 1979 to deal with any popular movement which might have developed in directions even more dangerous to the tribal regime.

In the face of these repressive campaigns it was natural that the worker, student and other popular opposition movements would weaken and that the opposition forces would reassess just how useful this or that method of struggle might be. However, not everything works in favor of the authorities. A workers' revival occurred which was embodied in the broad participation in the joint committees and the General Committee of Bahraini Workers. The government and the business leaders were pressed into a weak corner since

the plan to mislead, i.e. the consultative committees, did not work, and there is a deep conviction among broad sectors of workers that they must continue the struggle to bring about the downfall of these committees and reinstate the legitimacy of the union effort.

We are seeing a general revival among the intelligentsia and democrats and in the women's sector. This is reflected on the effectiveness these sectors are showing in the places of their cultural and social activities. It is also reflected in their persistent struggle to restore the right of expression and so forth.

We nevertheless feel that the political movement is being subjected at the present time to blows by the authorities and is unable to generate great pressures to force the authorities to abandon oppression, open up general freedoms, and restore parliamentary life on sound bases.

We believe that we should bear responsibility for part of the failures in this general situation.

[Question] The opposition forces of Bahrain are still fragmented. What are the reasons for this? What are the reasons for the split? Are there more serious steps towards coordination or unification?

[Answer] The basic reason for fragmentation is the intense repression of the government of "Caliph Henderson." This forces every movement to confine its interests to shoring up its basic position or to turn to a posture of negative defense.

However, during the past few months we have been able to achieve positive steps with our comrades in the Bahraini National Liberation Front. We have held lengthy dialogues at the central leadership level and we have reached agreement on the need for joint activity, solving the problems which are obstructing our joint activity, and setting up basic procedures which will promote, not hinder, our effort.

We dearly want to unify the ranks of the entire nationalist opposition, from organized forces to leading nationalist and democratic personalities. In 1979 we submitted a proposal to form a broad democratic national grouping, but we do not see a possibility of achieving this now. We feel that coordination among the forces opposing the regime is the best formula at the present time. We have no reservations about anyone and we are ready to work within anyone's limits which any of the groups will accept on either a bilateral or collective basis.

[Question] But what about religious movements which are active in the Gulf, and in Bahrain in particular? What is their relationship with the events in Iran? Do you include them in opposition forces? Are you considering coordination with them? If so, to what extent?

[Answer] The religious movement which is active in Bahrain is concentrated in Shi'ite circles. We look at the Islamic schools of thought and the sects from a class and historical perspective. They are political parties which Islamic nations have been since the death of the Prophet and, in view of socio-economic situations, have continued throughout the centuries until the present time, despite the spread of secular ideas among the masses, particularly the intelligentsia.

As class forces and political expressions, they existed before the events in Iran. However, these events were a deep upheaval in the area and played their great role in activating us. They can be compared to the Nasserist revolution and its effect on the Nasserists, although the Shi'ite current has a deeper and broader history.

The Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain has made many sacrifices. It engaged in many struggles against the regime and was at the head of the ranks in 1979-82; however, its being limited to the Shi'ite sect has weakened this movement and caused many suspicions among the Sunnis. As far as we are concerned, we believe that it is necessary to close ranks to confront the regime.

We are prepared for joint effort and coordination within any limits accepted by the Islamic Front, while retaining our right to coordinate with other groups and our right to propose programs, plans, and forms of struggle which we feel are appropriate.

[Question] What are your thoughts about the next stage in Bahrain? First on the organizational level and secondly on the political level?

[Answer] Organizing the working masses, student, and other youth masses and the women's masses is at the heart of our daily effort, since without this organizing it would be impossible to engage in broad organized activity.

Naturally, we take advantage of the lessons of previous confrontations with the regime in order to improve the methods of our organizational efforts.

It is essential that we insist on unity and joint activity with the Bahraini nationalist forces since events during the past few years have confirmed the need for this joint effort.

Since repression and joint reactionary efforts are increasing, we feel that it is necessary to raise the level of coordination among the Gulf forces to study the programs of reaction and draw up political programs to counter them.

Our concentration in political awareness will be on the American military presence and will be in the interest of democratic freedoms and popular unity based on democratic principles. We are also very interested in the heroic struggles which the Lebanese people are waging under the leadership

of the Lebanese National Resistance Front against the Zionist occupation and we consider the formation of support committees a basic duty of the nationalist forces at this juncture.

[Question] What about your relations with Arab regimes on the one hand, and with opposition forces in them on the other?

[Answer] We hold the nationalist Arab countries in the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front in great esteem and we have good relations with these regimes. It varies from one country to another, depending on the requirement of our struggle and their willingness to support our national, democratic and just cause.

[Question] Lastly, is there armed struggle on your horizon? What is the possibility of your accepting or rejecting this orientation? And what would be the position of the masses?

[Answer] At the present time, no. From the theoretical standpoint we believe that the armed struggle is the highest form of struggle. And we believe that these regimes cannot be brought down except through violence. We also feel that the change of the reactionary regime in our country is linked with the revolutionary process in the Gulf area and the peninsula and it is impossible to look at it in isolation. At the present time we are witnessing an ebb tide.

6945

CSO: 4404/654

JERUSALEM ARAB MERCHANTS SEEK TAX RELIEF

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 10 Jul 84 p 4

[Article: "Jerusalem Merchants Demand That the Authorities Solve the Tax Problems They are Facing"]

[Text] Arab merchants have sent memorandums to the general director of the Ministry of Finance and the ministers of customs, supplemental tax, income tax, and national insurance regarding the tax situation, which is threatening their livelihoods and future. It was mentioned in the memorandum that the Arab merchants had held a meeting from the 6th to the 17th in which this subject was discussed. They concluded that Arab merchants are facing this situation because the laws are not written in Arabic.

The Arab merchants presented the following suggestions and demands to alleviate the situation:

1. Translation of the supplemental tax, income tax, and national insurance laws, and their amendments, attachments, commentaries, and orders into Arabic. In addition, [translating] posters, notices, and letters so that they may be immediately sent to all taxpayers.
2. Settling all the outstanding problems with the Office of Supplemental Taxation in a complete, permanent, and clear manner.
3. Establishing the required amount for the Office of Supplemental Taxation for all calculations without discrimination. Leniency with regard to 15 percent of excess wages the office uncovers and the merchant has not declared.
4. Lowering the percentage of profit to correspond to the real profit of the Arab merchants.
5. Issuance by the competent authorities of the necessary orders to exempt payment of excess pensions, interest, and fines.
6. Issuance by the competent authorities of the necessary orders to completely solve the tax problems in the three departments--customs, income, and national insurance.

7. Give to all employers a 6-month grace period without new regulations and without being taken to court, so that they might reorganize their workers and their documents.

8. Because the merchants wish to display their good intentions, they have decided to establish an advisory office for accounting and taxation matters. Its purpose will be to advise and guide the merchants.

A settlement for the years in which the merchants earnings were penalized and which caused them considerable hardship.

11. The merchants also demanded that the settlement credit them with 2.5 percent of their capital. This is the alms which God has enjoined upon them as Muslims [Figure as published].

12551

CSO: 4404/589

BRIEFS

NEW WEST BANK SETTLEMENT--Bethlehem--Special Correspondent (AL-QUDS)--Israeli bulldozers yesterday began breaking ground for a street in Ra's al-Makarisiyah in the village of Husan, which lies to the southwest of Bethlehem, in preparation for the establishment of a new settlement on village land. Israeli authorities have confiscated approximately 5,000 dunams of land from the villages of Husan, Nahhalin, and Wadi Fukin, known as the villages of 'Arqub. This land, extending from Khallat al-Sarawil in Husan to Marah al-Ghazlan in Nahhalin, is located on the road to the Kafr 'Asyun settlement and adjacent to the village of Ja'aba on the green line. This completes the encirclement of the above-mentioned villages by the settlements of Kafr 'Asyun, Afrat, al-Ba'azar, and Nafi Daniel, all of which are located in the hills overlooking the Jerusalem-Hebron road. In addition, the settlement of Ra's Bayt Jala, overlooking the village of al-Walja to the southwest of Bayt Jala, expropriated approximately 1,500 dunams of land approximately 1 and 1/2 years ago. In other developments, Israeli bulldozers began about a week ago to widen the road going from the settlements behind the green line and passing through the villages of Husan, Batir, and Khidr. Its width is currently 15 meters. Dozens of trees were uprooted, the walls on both sides of the road were demolished, and the water line, which the villagers had recently constructed, was damaged. They were, therefore, forced to remove what remained and move it to another place. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 15 Jul 84 pp 1, 11] 12551

CALL FOR WEST BANK ELECTIONS--Nablus--Special Correspondent (AL-QUDS)--Hikmat al-Masri declared that the only way to end the crisis in the municipalities is to hold free municipal elections so that the citizens can elect whomever they wish to look after their interests in these hard times. He added that it was a grave error for the municipal heads who were elected in 1976 to have accepted the military resolution in 1980 which extended their term of office. This was equivalent to giving authority for appointments and dismissals to the military government. If the municipal heads had insisted on new elections at that time, the situation would not be what it is today. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 28 Jun 84 p 1] 12551.

MEDICAL INSURANCE FOR ARABS--Jerusalem--The Arab Chamber of Commerce has sent a memorandum to the minister of labor and Israeli social services which said: The Chamber of Commerce has learned that the national insurance agency has assumed the responsibility for health insurance for the Arab residents of Jerusalem with regard to hospital and surgical expenses. This responsibility

is limited to those persons insured prior to the effective date of the new directives. The memorandum also stated that the national insurance foundation is not accepting any new requests from Arab residents for participation in the hospital health insurance program, thereby prohibiting a large portion of the Arab residents from receiving treatment or undergoing surgery in the hospitals. The Arab residents are unable to pay the current high costs because of their limited income and low standard of living. Therefore, we request you to reconsider this directive and permit the Arab residents to fully participate in the hospital health insurance program in exchange for the high taxes that the insurance agency assesses on the Arab residents. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 5 Jul 84 p 4] 12551

CSO: 4404/589

SAWT AL-MASHRIQ CITED ON LEBANESE CHRISTIAN PLANS

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic 13 Jun 84 p 27

[Article: "Hostility of Rightist Plan Threatens Other Arab States"]

[Text] All the evidence indicates that the right-wing plan in Lebanon has not yet been abandoned, but is taking a religious channel this time, alternating in use between the Phalangists on the one hand, and the sages of al-Kaslik on the other, most of whom are Christian clerics.

With respect to the basis of the appeal of this rightist plan, two thrusts are prominent:

Concentration on the identity of the Christians as ethnic groups that must be independent, to the degree of establishing a quasi-state for those groups. To demonstrate that identity, the literature of the groups that rally around the banner of al-Kaslik concentrates on the culture of those Christian groups, which the rightists justify as a kind of superiority and domination over those around them. The 'spurious academicians' are not content with spotlighting the Christians in Lebanon, but rather they go beyond that to the Christians in the entire Orient. They are calling for raising a "Federation of Christian peoples in the East."

The second thrust is emphasis on the closeness of these new Christians to the Zionist entity, more than their closeness to the Arabs, despite the Christian Arabs belonging historically and culturally, despite the single life that has always been between the religions of the East down through the ages, within the framework of Arab political entities, and despite Islam's protection of the Christians, in contrast to the historic incompatibility between Judasim and Christianity.

This new dual missionary plan, which is now being revived in the Phalangist-dominated areas, does not stop at theory, but has begun to go beyond that to execution at the hands of the right-wing militias.

The chief of the Phalangist war council, who later became commander of the militias and an elected president of the Lebanese Republic, Bashir Jumayyil, previously had announced that the rightist militias were the army of the Christians in the East. This was in an attempt to expand the area of

Christian deployment--and especially Maronite--in Lebanon, through displacement of large numbers of Muslims, with Christians taking their places. When the war of the mountains and the popular uprising in Beirut's southern suburbs took place, the first main step of this plan was foiled. This forced a kind of retreat on the rightist plan toward the religious thrust. Consequently, the geographic area of Christian deployment in Lebanon was constrained instead of expanded. Instead of the right-wing plan reassuring the Christians, it caused a condition of apprehension among the Christians in the entire Arab East. This condition of fear was brought to them after they were surprised by the rightist provocation and called on for action within intense prosylitization. More than that, the rightist plan caused a condition of confusion. Counter reactions begat counter prosylitization.

However, the word is no longer a kind of accusation. There are documents that give viewpoints about the plan, which has retreated but has not yet been abandoned. Developments outside and within Lebanon might revive this historically rejected plan, if it is not yet abandoned politically.

Nevertheless, there are many political documents expressing the viewpoints of the monks' organization, the Maronite Patriarchate, and of the Guardians of the Cedars. They were expressed by SAWT AL-MASHRIQ, published by the wisemen of al-Kaslik, who have given and are giving a theoretical facade to the political Phalange Party. They volunteer to support the Zionist plan and reconcile matters between it and the right-wing plan. As an example of that, since the beginning of this year, there appeared in the first issue of this newspaper: "The Jews are the legal owners of Palestine. Those people who sit on the soil of Palestine and outside of it consider themselves part of the Islamic Arab group that seized the Orient 7 centuries after the exodus of the Hebrews, i.e., the Jews.

The Muslim Arabs themselves in Lebanon, Syria and Mesopotamia, who spread out in a great invasion, ruled the peoples of the East. They were the rulers of the land of the Hebrews--the Jews--who returned there after 19 centuries, in order to bring together a group that owned them seven generations after the Diaspora."

Here the article makes a connection between the Jews and the Kasliki plan group. Its author says:

"Today we have all retruned from Aramea, Babylon, Lebanon, from Assyria, Sidon, the al-Azraq River, and from Jersulaem, Tyre and the places of civilization that have been lost in time."

The sages of al-Kaslik continue to construct their plan. In issue No 47 dated 18 February 1984, under the headline, "Yes to the Union of Eastern Christian People," it said:

"A student of history knows that the Near East would not have fallen to the invading Arab armies, in the middle of the Seventh Century A.D. if the

peoples of this region had been united and in solidarity. If the peoples of this region, the Aramaeans, Syrians, Assyrians, Copts, Armenians and Malikites, had stood together in one cohesive bloc against the new invader, the latter could not have changed the identity of the Near East. Therefore, the union of Eastern Christian peoples is the sole guarantee to prevent the occurrence of a new historical relapse, which would put an end to what remains of these people after 13 centuries, and would restore cultural balance to the Near East in which its pluralistic population could live in security and peace."

In the same article, it also said: "Disregarding the positiveness and suitability of our participation in the rebirth of Arab culture, it remains to be said that 'we' were the ones who participated. That means that the ones that participated in this work were not Arabs. They participated in the work of the revival and they were not Arabs. This 'we' or 'you' are 'they.' What an important distinction, we are not you. The important point is that the East has two parts. If we assume that there is an Arab part, it remains that the second part is non-Arab. No matter that we participated, or our grandfathers or grandfathers' grandfathers participated in the revival of your culture, we remain 'we' and you 'you.'"

In another article published on 15 March 1984, it was stated;

"Pursuing the melting-pot plan is dangerous for all the sects in the country, because it creates permanent hatreds among the religious communities, which leads to strife and killing. This sets the nation and its institutions back for years. Therefore, the one united nation must be replaced by 'mutually agreed upon coexistence,' in accordance with one's own areas and within the rights of the communities to free expression of their legacies and cultures.

It was said in SAWT AL-MASHRIQ on 7 April 1984: "We call for an end to the sliding of the Christian community toward the abyss and spiritual and cultural dissolution, caused by physical, mental and socio-educational bonds that have existed in Lebanon since its independence. It is merely that it is the Christian community in this case, and would have reached the point that it now has reached. That means that the institutions responsible in principle for this community have failed to organize and direct it, and to defend its cultural makeup. "It has become clear that the Lebanese Christian community is passing through a most dangerous stage, with respect to its cultural and historic identity. It is nearly at the point of dissolution and social and ideological disintegration."

The magazine said in another article, published in its issue No 65, dated 29 April 1984: "The reason for the continuation of the Lebanese Christian crisis is that no one has ever dealt with the truth of its roots. The crisis is in not finding equality, in which the Lebanese Christian people have a minimum of recognition and interaction with a historic sociological group."

The magazine questioned whether the Christians in Lebanon had decided to follow the path of the Copts in Egypt, who chose the formula of domestic dissolution and unification, without being bright enough to demand a pluralistic constitutional framework that would guarantee their existence.

These paragraphs are a few of the many from the "Maronite sages" and their sectarian plan, which lay the theoretical foundations for their separatist plan, unique in its clear and dangerous racism, which springs from the similarities between the Christian and Jewish sects in opposing the Arabs and Arabism.

Despite the possibilities of this plan not falling in the end, the result could be somewhere between this plan and the formula that established the Lebanese entity in 1943.

All the evidence confirms that the leaders of the Lebanese right, politicians and military, and the al-Kaslik sages, have not abandoned this plan of theirs, but are still insistent on it and on taking the opportunity for a rebirth, riding the wave of anti-Arabism in Lebanon and the region. The start was in Lebanon, but will certainly not be confined there. Its path will most certainly take it to other Arab nations, if it does not go to all the Arab countries.

7005

CSO: 4404/561

IMPLICATIONS OF SHAM'UN-JUNBLATT RAPPROCHEMENT VIEWED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1450, 17 Aug 84 pp 16, 18

[Text] When the latest session of the Lebanese cabinet ratified the principles of the security plan for the mountain region, there was in front of the president of the republic, the prime minister, and other ministers a photo of a meeting that was described as "historic" between former president Camille Sham'un and Minister Walid Junblatt.

Some did not hesitate to say that this meeting represents a jump backward from 32 years of sharp and occasionally bloody hostility between the Junblatt family, including the political trend and popular opinion that it represents, and the Sham'un presidency, including the opposite trend and popular opinions that it represents. Minister Junblatt himself described this hostility with former President Sham'un as "beautiful." He also described their friendship as "beautiful."

No one knows as well as President Sham'un or the late Kamal Junblatt the bitterness of this hostility and the sweetness of the friendship between the two sides. There is no argument that the modern Lebanese crisis did not begin in 1975 but in 1952, specifically, just 6 months after the election of Sham'un as president of the republic. This marked the beginning of the conflict between him and Junblatt, which exploded in the spring of 1975. Since that time, Lebanon has not been calm or stable or secure.

It is a strange coincidence that the 32 year leap which many welcomed and many others counted on, and which falls near the 32nd anniversary of the famous Dayr al-Qamar festival, during which Sham'un stood with his companions, the members of the opposition "National Socialist Front" (Camille Sham'un, Amil al-Bustani, Anwar al-Khatib, 'Abdallah al-Hajj, and Ghassan Tuwayni) and all raised their hands in front of more than 100,000 citizens and repeated a vow to bring down President Bisharah al-Khuri and achieve the national political reform program of the front.

In that year, Walid Junblatt was less than 3 years old. After 32 years, the worst of the region's struggles have been seen and Walid Junblatt does not hesitate to say in front of former President Sham'un that he adheres to the comprehensive political reforms that were championed by the opposition front at that time.

The reality that the people note is that the principles of that reform have not been achieved in any way. Had some of them been achieved, perhaps Lebanon could have avoided most of the disasters that have shaken it, its people and its institutions. The principles of 1952 called for eliminating political confessionalism and achieving justice and equality, correcting the Elections Law, making the courts the sole respected authority, and making Lebanon a country that is not aligned with any foreign state.

Although Israel had not yet attacked Arab lands outside of the West Bank in Palestine, the principles of the 1952 reform mentioned the establishment of an army that would be strong in numbers and equipment, and that would be directed nationally to protect the borders and ensure the safety of the south and the security of its people.

If political differences between members of a single side were to scuttle the reformist plans and charters, then the conflict between Junblatt and Sham'un beginning in 1952 was the conflict that scuttled the plan for the new nation, a plan that was only dreamed about. In addition, it gradually undermined the security of Mount Lebanon. Through this conflict, channels of interference began to make headway in Lebanese society. When the security of Lebanon is mentioned, it is really the security of Mount Lebanon, for this is the correct base for beginning other security plans. The evidence for this is that all of Lebanon last week was fearful about rescue attempts and efforts to achieve salvation from the war when differences surfaced concerning the Mount Lebanon plan.

The al-Mukhtarah and Dayr al-Qamar meeting between former President Sham'un and Minister Junblatt did not materialize from nothing and did not occur suddenly. Contacts between Junblatt and Dany Sham'un have occurred since the two were introduced to one another. They are the heirs to the "beautiful" friendship and "beautiful" hostility. The direct and indirect contacts between the two have contributed to lessening the catastrophies and impact of the war in the mountain region. Former President Sham'un himself has not been far removed from these contacts, as was evident during the private meetings between himself and Minister Junblatt at the Lausanne conference.

Former President Sham'un is the oldest Lebanese politician and most experienced in matters of the mountain region, especially the Shuf Mountain and 'Alayh. This patch of ground throughout ancient and modern history has been the focus of political disruptions in Lebanon, the focus of polarization, and the focus of conflict between domestic groups with their various goals and leanings. Mukhtarah, Dayr al-Qamar, 'Alayh, Bayt al-Din, al-Shuwayfat, al-Hadath, B'abda, the surrounding areas in the region known as al-Manasif and al-Ma'ush, al-Gharb, al-Jarad, al-Wadaya, these have been the axes of political struggles and have recently become military axes.

When the cabinet decided to begin implementing the mountain plan along the al-Jumhur--Sawfar road through 'Alayh, and along the 'Alayh-Khaldah road through Suq al-Gharb, the cabinet took into account the psychological, political, and strategic importance of this phase, which must open the door to permanent stability that includes Mount Lebanon from its points farthest south to its points farthest north.

As observers note, the importance of this phase is that it opens the way for the return of the exiles from the mountain to their homes and their possessions, in exchange for the return of those who fled the Eastern region and its suburbs to their homes and their possessions.

The grater importance, however, is that reconciliation in the mountain region, which has taken its initial steps with the meeting between President Sham'un and Minister Junblatt, will itself obliterate rumors that have circulated for some time concerning plans referred to as "cantonization" or "federalization."

In one of the private meetings between President Amin al-Jumayyil, Minister Walid Junblatt, and Nabih Birri to present the general outline of the political reform, any ideas concerning federalization or cantonization were put beyond discussion. In fact, these ideas were considered "attempts to sabotage" the national political reform plan.

While some senior politicians believe that there is a kind of economic, educational, security, and administrative federation that will be implemented either gradually or over the long term in Lebanon as a solution to the difficult and intractable crisis, Prime Minister Rashid Karami and the bloc of opposition ministers in the government insist that moving in this direction would not provide Lebanese factions with security or stability, but would remove security and would destroy the nation as well.

This conflicting outlook for the Lebanese system of government between the two parties in government has prompted each side to try to prove the correctness of its position. Former President Sham'un is among the advocates of federalization, and despite the difficulties which are known to stand in the way of implementing this system--especially in the 'Alayh and al-Shuf regions, the advocates of this system claim frankly that without agreement on a kind of federalization, Lebanon will not become stable, especially the mixed regions.

It is said that when former President Sham'un landed in Dayr al-Qamar in the helicopter that brought him from B'abda, one of his senior aides in Dayr al-Qamar asked if helicopters would be the only form of transportation that could be used between the various regions under a federal system. One of the senior aides of Minister Junblatt responded that political reform would ensure free and safe transportation for all.

On this specific point, there is still a difference between former President Sham'un and Minister Junblatt, who recently undertook a number of initiatives to secure the possibility of mixed coexistence in the mountains under a non-confessional political system. A number of meetings have been held in al-Mukhtarrah that included Christian personalities from al-Shuf that traditionally belonged to "constitutional families" (a part of the trend that was prevalent during the administration of al-Shaykh Bisharah al-Khuri), other personalities adhering to the "bloc" line, that is, the line of General Raymond Iddih, and other neutral personalities that, from the beginning, have stayed away from the axes of political and military conflicts in the mountains.

Amid an encouraging atmosphere, an extensive meeting was held in the village of Hamana, which involved Maronites, Greek Orthodox, and Greek Catholics including Vice Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Amin Abu-Fadil, Archbishop George Khadr, Archbishop Ilyas 'Awdah, Pastor of the Cypriot Maronite Diocese Archbishop Ilyas Farh, former minister Pierre al-Khuri, Samr Franjiyah, and Dr Najib Abu Haydar. There were also Sunni Druze and Shi'i leaders, including former Prime Minister Salim al-Huss, Minister Junblatt, Mrs Khawlah Arsalan, 'Abdallah al-Amin and others.

In the opinion of observers, the mountain personalities that met in Hamana could, in cooperation with former President Sham'un, form something of an alliance that could itself resolve the mountain problem and ensure the safe and secure return of those who fled. Those who hold this opinion stress that the inclusion of former President Sham'un in this "alliance" with those who represent personalities and popular groups that adhere to traditional views in the mountain could soon lead to the emergence of a new political reality in the country that would overturn the existing equations.

There are those who go further than this and say that a widely supported bloc based on the minimum of political reformist principles could attract influential domestic powers and could turn the trend toward a reasonable solution with the foreign powers of influence.

This effort is not merely theoretical. There is a political plan of action that is being drawn up calmly, objectively, and with the participation of many senior politicians and officials who prefer to produce results before announcing their efforts to do so.

On the other hand, senior politicians with access to the government believe that it is not easy to sway former President Sham'un from his current political position. He is president of the Lebanese Front, which has taken positions opposite to those of most of the personalities that met in Hamana.

The fact is that the media that expresses the views of the front have begun to call for the return of those who have fled and a Christian decision that is not isolationist concerning the mountain.

In this regard, the newspaper AL-'AMAL recently published an article under the headline "War Against the Phalange, Peace for the Rest." The article included an idea for resolving the mountain problem based on a number of principles, including the following:

- Establishment of a firm Christian consensus concerning the necessity of agreement with the Druze over the mountain situation. This consensus must be a joint one.

- Establishment of a firm consensus that Christian-Druze agreement is the basis of life in the mountain and, therefore, one of the most important bases for stability in Lebanon.

-- Acceptance, insistence, and work on concluding a political deal between the Christians and the Druze that specifies the bases of relations between the two sides and that serves their mutual, legitimate interests.

-- Agreement to work from the premise of the historical right of the two large confessions in the mountains to free and safe existence and coexistence, and acceptance of Druze leadership in the mountains as long as it does not prevent the Christians from exercising their minimum rights and political, cultural, and religious freedoms, which they insist on adhering to lest they live in the mountain as strangers and return to it as strangers.

It is clear from these differences in position concerning the issue of the mountain and those who have fled that the problem will not be solved except in the context of a comprehensive political solution. In this regard, a senior "neutral" official says that it will be difficult to reach a solution to the problem of emigres for the simple reason that it is a human or social problem. It originally grew out of the Tahinah battle that left as its victims thousands of fighters and innocents. It did not grant anyone the right to live in safety, far from the gunfire and destruction. Therefore, eliminating the causes of the flareup of the war is the way to eliminate the problems that have resulted from this war. The first and most significant is the problem of those who have fled to every corner of Lebanon.

For this reason, the government has moved quickly to open the political file so the ministers can begin the journey to search for a new system of government for Lebanon, a system which currently has many images and features that are more of a hindrance than a help.

If there are indications that positive results could appear in the coming phase, they are that most officials and politicians who make the decisions are convinced that efforts to achieve national reconciliation based only on good intentions will not lead to a paradise of practical results. In fact, it will push the discussants to new distractions that would make any hope of achieving a reasonable solution more remote.

On this basis, observers consider all security plans that have been implemented or are to be implemented as merely military truces that give breathing room to decision-makers so that they can discuss and agree on the details of the political and reform principles that were laid down at the Lausanne conference.

If they do agree, then the truce will be transformed into comprehensive and lasting peace. If they do not agree, may God help us all.

12608

CSO: 4404/631

MOTIVES BEHIND SPENDING CUTS QUESTIONED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1450, 17 Aug 84 p 46

[Text] As soon as he assumed the post of minister of finance, former President Camille Sham'un issued a circular to the ministries and official organizations and departments asking them to restrict expenditures as much as possible on a number of projects budgeted for 1985. Sham'un justified the request by the treasury's financial situation and the deficit that has accumulated for years.

Days later Prime Minister Rashid Karami issued a similar circular to the departments advising them to be austere and to try as much as possible to prepare balanced budgets in terms of income and expenditures. These directives were interpreted by the prime minister and minister of finance in a document recently submitted to the cabinet under the title "Lowering Expenditures." It included a call to all ministers to prepare a list of projects that can be dispensed with for the present time.

However, this move does not have a practical goal. It only seeks to restrict expenditures without there being any clear, detailed policy that defines how this will be accomplished, how far it will go, at what cost, and who will pay the price of this austerity, which the state only became conscious of overnight. Before we delve into what is called the "austerity policy," a quick look must be taken at the development of the national debt for the first half of this year to determine how appropriately actions are coinciding with words, and to clarify the situation as it was before the ascension of Prime Minister Rashid Karami.

Official documents issued by the Bank of Lebanon indicate that the amount of "public sector borrowing," which represents the national debt, has risen from about 5,307 million pounds at the end of 1983 to about 7,436 million pounds at the end of June 1984. In other words, the state's borrowing from the Bank of Lebanon has increased within 6 months by about 2,129,000,000 pounds, or 40 percent more than it was at the end of last year.

Meanwhile, it is noted that state lending through the banking system (treasury bonds) during the same period registered a relatively small increase of about 600 million pounds, or less than a 4 percent increase over the amount of treasury bonds outstanding at the end of last year. As a result of this, one can draw the following conclusions:

-- The largest portion of the domestic debt accrued during the first half of this year is concentrated in borrowing from the Bank of Lebanon. This has inflationary effects on the exchange rate of the pound which are much greater than the inflationary effects that would result from borrowing from the [commercial] banks.

-- Most of the borrowing from the Bank of Lebanon is to cover the state's ongoing expenditures, such as salaries, etc, without there being serious expenditures on the economic or financial levels. These [ongoing] expenditures include the payment of salaries and incidentals, and the payment of the bill on imported oil, which is sold to the Lebanese [public] under cost, creating a deficit in the independent fuels fund of about 3 million pounds.

-- It appears that borrowing from the banking system (treasury bonds) has reached a saturation point and would be difficult to exceed except in a limited way. The banks' resistance to subscribing to bonds can be explained by the following factors:

A -- Liquidity is concentrated in perhaps fewer than 10 banks. Estimates indicate that about 15 banks control 60 to 65 percent of total deposits.

B -- There has been an expansion in the accumulation of arrearages to a number of banks in recent years. This has led to a reduction in the proportion of liquidity and reserves and has made it very difficult for these banks to increase their subscription to bonds.

C -- The banking crisis that was sparked several months ago by one bank has increased the banks' caution.

D -- The banks' increasing tendency to speculate to achieve greater profits has made it difficult to invest in other areas, in view of the shrinking loan market and the increasing indebtedness of customers who are unable to pay. This has further prompted some groups and institutions to look abroad for speculative investments in the worldwide economic crisis. These institutions have turned, in a blatant and shameful way, to speculation in the Lebanese pound, prompting depositors to convert their money into foreign currencies and deposit it in Lebanese banks abroad to enable these banks to cover their increasing expenditures. The best proof of the speculation is that the banks have recently not found treasury bonds attractive despite the two point rise in interest rates in one move. The actual rate on bonds now exceeds 15 percent, a record for interest rates.

-- There is no clear financial policy that takes into consideration these facts. In fact, it can be said that there is some groping for a financial policy, but it is characterized by ambiguity, hesitation, and indecisiveness. Therefore, the borrowing from the Bank of Lebanon and the results of that borrowing, of other factors, and of the decline in the exchange rate of the pound have led to two developments:

1) A 22 percent increase in the mandatory and optional bank reserves [deposited] with the Bank of Lebanon during the first half of this year. This has created pressures on the price of the pound.

2) A 10.6 percent reduction in the Bank of Lebanon's foreign assets in a 6-month period, despite the valuation of portfolio holdings by the price of the dollar, which has risen from about 549 centimes at the end of last year to about 600 centimes at the end of June 1984.

In this setting, the government's recommendations emerged recently calling for austerity and cuts in spending without specifying the features of this policy in terms of how and how much.

This new proposal undoubtedly warrants examination. In addition, it raises a number of questions regarding its goals and aims. The most important of these questions are:

Why was this desire to curb the deficit generated overnight at this time after the public debt reached 30 million pounds? What are the facts that have changed now, since nobody spoke about the deficit in recent years when the deficit was moving up in tremendous leaps? The domestic debt was acceptable until the end of 1981, then it began to register worrisome jumps as a result of the arms buildup spending, and when the war, according to one banker, began to be financed domestically after having been financed from abroad.

Why has an official effort begun now to strengthen the exchange rate of the pound when all previous practices sought to apply pressure on the pound and dampen speculation, which then had very little effect on the pound?

Is the call to cut spending linked to facts that will become evident by the ongoing political and security situations--which continue to be volatile and unstable--or by the expected improved situation? In other words, are the spending restrictions made necessary by the continuing war or by the coming period of stability?

There is no doubt that spending restrictions are necessary and perhaps will include more positive than negative aspects. The question remains about the means of achieving the goal and the timing.

In terms of the means, the public deficit must be curbed by turning to methods that will first and foremost increase revenues before restricting expenditures. This should take place by closing the doors and windows through which public revenues are draining. These areas are obvious and well known to all. In addition, before cutting spending, it is necessary to stop the administrative waste in some departments which continue to employ and accumulate dubious human elements. Also, before cutting back expenditures, it is necessary to address decisively the issue of fuel subsidies which benefit a few of the influential and do not achieve any developmental, social or productive goal.

The primary areas that devour [revenues] have existed for some time and are a source of complaints because they do not achieve the goals hoped for. This requires a bold political decision that will not spark the reaction that could result.

Regarding timing, it appears that the slogan of limiting expenditures has been raised at a time when demands have begun to be made for the execution of certain vital projects in areas that have come to require the minimum of life's necessities.

In conclusion, curbing the deficit is a fundamental goal, but in achieving it, many considerations and priorities must be taken into account and scientific, deliberate studies must be relied upon. As a result of the studies, a detailed financial policy should be defined. It is not unlikely, for example, that this policy will decide that the best medicine for treating the deficit is increasing the deficit, especially if the expenditures are directed at social and economic goals. In other words, concern over the price of the pound will be less than concern over the economy as a whole, since the pound is in the service of the economy, and the economy is not in the service of the pound.

12608

CSO: 4404/631

LEBANON

LEBANESE MUFTI FORECASTS ROUGH TIMES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 73, 1 Sep 84 pp 29-30

[Interview with al-Shaykh Hasan Khalid, the Grand Mufti of Lebanon, by 'Isam 'Abdallah: "Nervousness About the Coming Days, Forecast Is Gloomy," in al-Rawshsh, Lebanon, date not specified]

[Text] If we look into the eyes of passerbys, those sitting, or those traveling through Beirut, flashing, happy, bewildered, we find a similarity in all these eyes. This similarity is expressed in anxiety and fear in every blink. After some 9 years of continuous incidents in Lebanon, everyone has become continually anxious over his fate, and once again fearful over the continuation of the clashes between quarter and alley on the one hand, and among regions on the other.

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect achieved by the recent clashes is the sectarianism that is now on everyone's tongue and which has become the question that is raised more than once every day about this sect or that school. Due to the success of the plot, anxiety has become one of the expected and influential elements. People have also become captive to ideas and heretical tendencies. This is in addition to the foreign nourishment of these theses, especially among people of the same rank. As these matters became prominent on the Lebanese scene, there are in contrast men who have arraigned themselves against the enemies and the plotters, working diligently to nip sedition in the bud. In that regard, they have achieved successes whose results can be continually noted. The office of the grand mufti is not for one sect alone; on the contrary, it is for all. In its movement, it reassures the forces through its dealings.

Accordingly, I took my observations about things past and my questions about the future to the home of his eminence the mufti of the republic, Shaykh Hasan Khalid, in al-Rawshah. This was before his excellency began to return to his office in 'Armun, from which he has greatly influenced past events.

As is his custom, his eminence welcomed me and did not hesitate to ask about conditions, new reports and the ongoing contacts, since listening constantly to the news has become a daily habit of the citizenry by which they plan their movements.

After a few minutes of idle chatter, the interview began as follows:

[Question] The recent period has seen clashes in western Beirut, which later were garbed in sectarianism. The office of the mufti has played an important role in dealing with these matters. It has rallied everyone around it and has striven to bury the civil strife. What is the situation today following these incidents?

[Answer] In Beirut, and in Lebanon generally, it is constantly expected that such incidents as these will befall us from time to time, since the evil hand and the corrupt idea that lurk behind them are still present and exist. The recent incidents that occurred in the areas of Saqiyat al-Janzir, 'A'ishah Bakkar, Tallat al-Khiyat and al-Mazra'ah have connections with roots that we cannot say are purely sectarian only. As is well known, there are connections also with political quarters in the country. One fancies that they are playing a role aimed at increasing the confusion and pressure on officials in these circumstances, so that they have less chance for that success that will support the security plan. That plan is ultimately aimed at achieving the hopes of all Lebanese for stability and tranquility. As a responsible and active party in this stage of the country's life, we have seen what we have seen. We have had the ability, to some extent, to share in putting an end to the remains of the corrupt and lawless quarter. We have not been able to stand idly by and watch these things happen. Therefore, we have resisted and, in cooperation with all our brethren in Lebanon who are free of all the factions, we have gone forth in order to stop this bloodshed and to prevent it from having free rein and persisting toward what will ultimately end in what we so dread.

As you see, the initial meetings in the office of the mufti occurred and, as a result, reduced the obvious inflammatory situation, the spiritual and social inflammation that I was seeing and hearing about here and there, and whose danger and influence you and the brethren fear. Through these meetings, we have been able, praise God, to reach the point of reducing this civil strife by about 90 percent.

As I said at the outset, one cannot be reassured by this result. The truth is that we have done our best, in addition to the cooperation that most of the factions have shown with respect to all of those who have influence in these circumstances and at this stage. However, we shall continue to work with them whenever possible, but we and they still believe that the evil hand and the wicked idea still have influence in this region, especially in Beirut and surrounding areas. Consequently, all must be aware of this fact. They must be constantly on their guard to resist any manifestation of reaction or any inflammatory situation that can be seen, in order to put an end to it and to suppress it before it spreads and infects all around it.

[Question] There were also clashes among those of the same persuasion. Do you have a position, especially from the spiritual aspect, toward the parties to the clash? Is there a trend to prevent such clashes as these ultimately?

[Answer] What happened, according to my thinking, was in other than responsible hands, and it ended quickly. I believe that such clashes as these will not be repeated, according to what I have learned. I learned about it from those responsible themselves. It was an error committed by one of the young men who they acknowledged acted rashly, and it ended with this result. However, praise be to God, it was ended in cooperation with everyone. It was evident to us that all the leaders involved in this incident were innocent and their intentions were pure. They were very desirous of unifying the ranks and keeping the Islamic group at all times, but especially at this stage, cohesive and in strict solidarity. This unity will not permit the enemy to breach its ranks or destroy the unity of this group.

[Question] Through the contacts being made with various factions, we have noted the respect and esteem for the office of the grand mufti with regard to the role that it is playing on the Lebanese scene, and especially at this stage. How do you see the future in terms of today's reality and tomorrow's implementation of the security plan?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, we appreciate the respect of all the leaders in these times. I believe that the coming days will be nerve-wracking. The closer we get to the shore, the more violently the waves pound and the power of the water increases. And the more it behooves us to see to the command of the ship, to avoid smashing on the rocks or rashly sailing into places that it is not in our interests to go into, so that we can ultimately reach the shore of peace and security, where everyone will have saved their honor and achieved what they were seeking for themselves in terms of demands and reforms.

The country has passed, and is passing, through a complex stage. The forecast is gloomy, and clouds cover everything. No one of us can scarcely see his hand when we raise it up in this fog. Therefore, everyone must be cautious and aware. At the same time, cooperation and cohesiveness is required, so that everyone will be prepared to respond to the calamity of attack, and so that they can avoid what might lead the enemy to think that he could breach the ranks and tear the fabric of identity and unity. Everyone must be aware of these facts and adhere to them. I think that in our meeting of the minds, our unity of ranks and our awareness of the difficulty and danger of this stage, of the enemy's game and his constant readiness and attempts to breach our ranks by any means and by any role, whenever we take into account all of these matters, I believe that we will have shared, to a great extent, in the success of the sincere attempts that the officials and leaders are making to save the country and to ultimately reach the coast of security and attain stability.

[Question] Therefore, how would you have the government of national unity deal with the anticipated eventualities?

[Answer] The government of national unity is based on principles, and it operates so far on judgment and from the premise of these principles, in

order to reach its goals that it established at the outset. Of course, it will not be easy for it to reach these goals. It is in a struggle with evil wills that will not permit a return to stability. It is clashing with all the desires that will not permit the water to return to its course. It, that is, the government, will remain in a struggle and conflict with all the covert powers and hands that do considerable damage to keep the water from its course. Therefore, I believe that the government's situation will remain difficult and dangerous, until it is able ultimately to attain its goals.

My belief is that we cannot leave it on its dangerous collision course without helping it to take leading national positions that are acceptable to all. So long as it works to strengthen the national position, to achieve the hopes of the citizens and to use its judgment in guiding the ship of state to the coast of peace, then it is incumbent upon all forces to support it in confronting this danger.

[Question] Our final question is about the issue of the abducted persons, since it is well known that you have been concerned since the beginning in bringing it to a happy conclusion. Matters have remained unchanged lately. In your view, how can this issue be concluded?

[Answer] It is still underway, but we can say that we have achieved complete success in our steps toward achieving the hopes of the families of the abducted. We have achieved bringing this case to the attention of officials, and it is under their scrutiny. It is under study, after having had more of an effective influence on the hearts and sentiments of the officials than at any other time. However, the fate of the abducted people is still unknown, and their relatives are still in a state of anxiety, distress and torment. We will be with them in their pain, their struggle and their trial, until we finally obtain the return of those abducted to their relatives, and get them out of the places where they are being held.

It has recently begun to appear in the convictions of many politicians and those that are familiar with these matters, that the number of these abducted people is not what some officials have imagined. The number is considerably larger than what they think. All of them have obligations, feelings and humanity in their hearts, toward God and toward everyone concerned with right and human virtues. They must return to dealing with this case through this humanistic concept and the concept of virtue, ethics and morals. They must protect the rights of the families of those abducted, as well as their feelings and the pain they feel, especially since some of them have been living in tunnels and caves for several years, living in misery and torment. We have seen these kinds of torment in their eyes, and not even a speechless rock could bear it.

Therefore, with many motives of desire and so forth, and with considerable feeling, we are directing the officials, as well as those who seized, held captive and abducted, to think about those persons' fates through their feelings and hearts, since they know that God watches them and that, unless they comply, they will damage truth and human values.

They must pay attention and have concern for the feelings of others. They should work in cooperation with all those who are striving with the families of the abducted to gain their urgent appeals and, consequently, conclude this case and the suffering and new afflictions that it might produce, perhaps to be applied to Lebanon, with its tragedy being repeated again.

The case of the abducted people is not an insignificant matter. Therefore, every official must be steadfast against it and do everything he can to achieve the hopes of those concerned by returning their sons to them. In my belief, this case will become one of the pillars of the success of the security plan and part of the success of the government of national unity. The success of this government is now being tested, and the issue of the abducted people is one of the serious issues, through which the position of the government can be expressed, and which will determine whether or not this government is capable of overcoming this crisis.

7005

CSO: 4404/642

LEBANON

KARAMI SAID TARGET IN CHIEF OF STAFF DEATH

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 73, 1 Sep 84 p 19

[Article by Husayn Karim: "Karami Was the Target, Not the Chief of Staff"]

[Text] Once again Lebanon faced the unknown. The Lebanese put their hands over their hearts, thinking that the violent rounds of killing had begun again, remembering the viciousness of all the previous acts of violence. With the violent death of the Lebanese chief of staff, Nadim al-Hakim, many confused questions were asked in Lebanon, and a wave of rumors swept through greater Beirut. All this caused significant tension in the mountains and excessively threatened the Karami government, which suspended its activities with respect to the security plan for the mountains and the coastal areas.

The truth is that the death of Nadim al-Hakim, in the crash of a military aircraft last week, might inflame the situation between Junblatt and the Lebanese government. However, this was not the goal of the benefiting party, who was basically trying for a total explosion instead of a bilateral explosion, in order to prolong the Lebanese situation in its entirety and dash the optimism over lasting stability.

For this reason, the Lebanese government hastened to form a committee to investigate the crash of the helicopter, which was transporting Nadim al-Hakim and a number of his aides on their return from a visit to Ihdan, during which they had met with Sulayman Franjiyah. The investigation is to learn whether there was a deliberate sabotage operation. Moreover, the goal of the investigation, as other observers believe, is not directed at the person of al-Hakim, regardless of his importance, so much as it is aimed at ascertaining the truth of the information bruited about after the accident to the effect that the crash of the helicopter, in this way, was aimed at a prominent Lebanese dignitary, who was accustomed to traveling between Beirut and the north by helicopter, and whose removal in this tragic fashion would kill several birds with one stone:

1. The collapse of the government of national unity, along with the consequences of that, in terms of wide-spread security deterioration.

2. The collapse and deterioration would inspire Israel to implement its plans in the south, given the Lebanese political vacuum and, consequently, would force the Lebanese government to reach an understanding with it once again concerning the south and the western Biqa' Valley.

3. In the absence of the government formed by Damascus as "godfather," Syria would be compelled to retract its considerations on the Lebanese scene and to alter its role to the benefit of Israel, which had retreated after Damascus had thwarted the 17 May agreement.

According to this scenario, arrived at by political observers in Lebanon, and the dangerous consequences that could result from it, these circles came to the conclusion that the prominent political dignitary that the incident was basically aimed at was Prime Minister Rashid Karami. There is no need to mention the beneficiary, especially since Lebanon, after forming the Karami government, entered the game of polarization among the regional parties on its soil, Syrian and Israel. Since the election of Amin al-Jumayyil in 1982, the initiative on the Lebanese scene shifted from Israel to Syria.

Conversely, the barometer of events indicated ups and downs, according to the considerations of the party in whose hands was the initiative. With the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, the initiative shifted to Syria, which moved to bring the war leaders under the B'abda roof, and which was happy to have a strong personality, such as Rashid Karami, at the head of the government, able to take the power of the Lebanese parties and to give these parties confidence in the government's ability to bring security and stability to all parts of Lebanon.

Accordingly, in this respect, it was not a coincidence that Tripoli flared up, that Israel undertook the Judaization of the south, that explosions increased in Beirut, that the Karami government took sick leave, that the diplomatic missions began to return to Lebanon, that the start of new alliances began in the mountains between Sham'un and Junblatt, that signs are growing of a rapprochement between the Phalange and Sulayman Franjiyah, that some Palestinian organizations are returning to Beirut, and that Syria is threatening to use the sword to impose accord and mutual understanding on the warring parties.

7005

CSO: 4404/642

BRIEFS

IBRAHIM QULAYLAT TO RETURN--A personality very close to the leader of the Independent Nasirite movement (al-Murabitun) disclosed to AL-MUSTAQBAL that Qulaylat is returning to Beirut soon. This return is scheduled for the middle or end of September. This personality said contacts with all parties concerned, regarding the return of the movement's leader to Beirut, have been completed and it is expected that Qulaylat will visit Damascus, the Syrian capital, and proceed from there to Beirut. Other sources have asserted to AL-MUSTAQBAL that Qulaylat's return to Beirut is conditioned on announcement of his stepping out of leadership of the movement (al-Murabitun) and election of a new command council for the movement. This is what Qulaylat rejects, according to his supporters, who honor him alone among the senior Lebanese fighters, "and therefore his patriotic role in the Lebanese theater can never be eliminated, no matter how long his absence from it." [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 p 15] 12496

'NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT'--It is expected within the next few weeks that the head of the Progressive Socialist Party, Walid Junblatt, Lebanon's Minister of Public Works and Tourism, will announce the birth of "The National Democratic Front" which, in addition to Junblatt's party, will include: the other leftist Lebanese parties, such as the Syrian Social Nationalist Party ('Isam al-Muhayiri), the Lebanese Communist Party (George Hawi), the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Organization ('Isam Qansuh), the Communist Party Organization (Muhsin Ibrahim), and the Arab Socialist Union. This is what a leftist party source asserted to AL-MUSTAQBAL. He added that the contacts and meetings between Junblatt and the other heads of leftist parties would concentrate on crystalizing the activity of this front and the objectives that will be targeted by it. It is expected, according to the source, that attorney Nabih Birri will announce his alignment with this front, which will play its role based on alliance with Syria. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 p 16] 12496

TRIPOLI REFINERY STARTUP--Refining began recently at Tripoli oil facilities after being stopped for 8 months since the facilities were exposed to fire because of clashes between Palestinian factions at the end of last year. The first phase of refining is limited to about 20,000 barrels per day of production of fuel oil and heavy oil. Gasoline will be produced later. It is worth noting that the production of fuel oil in the beginning will be beneficial to the cement factories in Shikka which have recently been forced to import fuel at prices higher than those charged by the refinery. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1450, 17 Aug 84 p 43] 12608

OVERPASS CONSTRUCTION--Work has resumed in Lebanon to complete the erection of the three iron overpasses in the regions of al-Nahr, al-Bastah al-Tahta, and al-Barbir, and to repair the Salim Salam (al-Kula) overpass. Work has been interrupted since last 6 February. The chairman of the Lebanese capital's municipal council, Counselor Shafiq al-Sarduk, expects work on the overpasses to be completed within a month and a half at a cost of about 30 million pounds. It is well known that three iron overpasses were erected last year in al-Sharqiyah region. The resumption of work coincides with the reopening of the crossings between the two halves of the capital. They will contribute a great deal to elimination of the congested traffic problem, not because of the increased crossing activity, but because of the concentration of traffic on certain open streets. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1450, 17 Aug 84 p 43] 12608

CSO: 4404/631

SYRIA

AL-ASAD VISIT TO LIBYA, ALGERIA ANALYZED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 338, 3 Sep 84 p 5

[Article: "Why Did He Go?"]

[Text] Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, since his illness and seclusion at the end of last year, has not made any official trips outside of his country, except for last week when, accompanied by 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, he went to Benghazi in Libya where immediately upon his arrival, he met with Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, who was accompanied by 'Abd-al-Salam Jallud. Following his talks in Libya, the Syrian president went to Algeria, where he met with President Chadli Benjedid and Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the secretary general of the Polisario Front. He then returned again to Libya for a second meeting with Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, and then returned to Damascus.

Al-Asad's trip has raised several questions in many Arab and western circles, especially as concerns the relationship of this visit to the federation agreement ratified between Morocco and Libya in the beginning of August. In fact, what caused Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to travel to Libya and Algeria was nothing more than the direct results of the Libyan-Moroccan union on the Syrian regime's relations with the PLO leadership. Since the beginning of the Syrian-Lebanese crisis, al-Asad has been relying on the support given to him by Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. However, the Libyan leader, as a result of the federation agreement with Morocco, has begun not to put the PLO disputes at the top of his list of concerns. On the contrary, he is trying to satisfy Algeria by easing the dispute with the PLO, so that Algeria will not vehemently oppose the Libyan-Moroccan agreement. Hafiz al-Asad saw that as abandoning him and as al-Qadhdhafi's retreat from supporting and assisting him.

Informed circles believe that the Libyan leader may have in fact reacted positively to Algerian mediation with regard to normalizing his relations with the PLO leadership and agreed in principle to Arafat's visit to Libya. The author of this Libyan turnaround was the Libyan-Syrian conflict and disputes in Lebanon, in which machineguns were used. Moreover, accompanying this reversal as well as a coolness in Libyan-Iranian relations and Iranian criticisms of the policies of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, who, according to Tehran, "has lost the sense of distinguishing between his majesty the king and revolutionaries."

All of these factors played a part in impelling the Syrian president to visit Libya, where Colonel al-Qadhafi advised him of the details of the Algerian mediation between Libya and the PLO. Under the cover of seeking the Algerian viewpoint, Hafiz al-Asad went to Algiers to meet as well with Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the secretary general of the Polisario Front. He then returned to al-Qadhafi with a position that said that, in the event Libya abandoned its allies in Syria and its commitments and turned to the Palestinian side for the purpose of satisfying Algeria and protecting the federation agreement with Morocco, then Damascus would be compelled to cooperate with the Polisario, in order to widen the gap between Algeria and Libya and between Algeria and Morocco. It is clear that the Libyan leadership, in the face of this Syrian position, has been forced to abandon a request to hold a summit of the five Arab Maghreb nations, as Colonel al-Qadhafi has attempted to do, and has begun to support the Algerian viewpoint, which would prefer to hold a meeting of the foreign ministers in Tunis to coordinate points of view.

7005

CSO: 4404/642

AUTOSTRAD PLANNED BETWEEN HAMAH, SARAQIB

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 4 Jul 84 p 2

[Text] At the beginning of September of this year operations will commence on the Hamah-Saraqib autostrad project, which will reach 84 km in length, now that the road project has been included in the national plan for the current year and the sum of 180 million Syrian pounds have been set aside for it.

This was stated by Mr Muhammad Hirba, the governor of Hamah. He added that the deputy prime minister for services affairs formed a committee comprising the minister of communications as chairman, the governors of Hamah and Idlib, and representatives from the communications ministry and the state planning commission to present a study for implementing this vital project which will change the present road into a divided highway and eliminate the traffic accidents which had been occurring.

As to the other services sector projects, the governor of Hamah said that the Ministry of Local Administration has agreed to spend 1 million Syrian pounds for the national voluntary work days being organized in the governorate. Likewise, the Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade has agreed to open credit for \$1 million to obtain (alfunt) flexible water mains for the water project that will be carried out in the villages of the provinces.

He pointed out that the ministerial economic committee agreed to designate 21 million Syrian pounds to be spent on the committee's project in the governorate.

It is worth pointing out that the companies in the public sector in the Hamah governorate are continuing to sponsor the national voluntary work days throughout the province with the aim of speeding up some of the important services projects.

On the Friday before last, more than 10 companies and around 100 workers and 65 pieces of equipment took part in the national voluntary work day in Bab al-Balad district in order to begin laying a new dirt road 500 km long and 25 meters wide linking the middle of the city to its southern parts.

On that day 12,000 cubic meters of earth were removed and placed along the sides of Hamah's interchange in order to be used there.

The cost of the operations carried out that day, in which the governor of Hamah, members of the executive office of the provincial assembly, the president of the Hamah city council, and the directors of companies active in the governorate participated, came to more than a million Syrian pounds.

DAMASCUS EXPANDS, IMPROVES WATER NETWORK

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 21 Jun 84 p 4

[Article by Jamal 'Amir: "The Public Water Company Continues To Expand and Improve the Damascus City Water Network"]

[Text] Walking through the city of Damascus, one sees work sites of the Public Water Company scattered throughout the city, from end to end. There is excavation machinery at work, laborers carrying earth on their shoulders, and somewhere else, large diameter water pipes being laid can be seen. During this field inspection, in the company of the Damascus water network project director, Engineer Ahmad Fattal, we toured the work sites in the city. The following discussion took place.

What Does the Project Cover?

The Damascus city water network project includes primarily a renovation of the old networks in the districts having deteriorated water systems, such as the city's northern district, from al-Muhajirin to Rukn al-Din, and some of the areas of al-Mazzah, and in addition, Kafr Susa, some of the tent camps in the southern part of the city, and Jawbar.

The second part of the project covers the modern residential districts where the water company is undertaking to build their water networks, such as the Dumar residential complex and the housing complex at the Yarmuk camp (pre-fabricated structures).

The third portion of the project deals with the main lines of the city's system. We are undertaking reinforcing operations on these lines.

The History of the Project

The history of the project as stated by Engineer Ahmad goes back more than 10 years, when the French company SOCEA undertook to implement the urgent phase, which dealt with an easy portion of the system (places where the network was very bad and postponing repairs was not possible). Then, that company undertook to replace the system in Maydan, Bawabat al-Salihiyah and Arnus. We have begun the comprehensive phase (replacing the entire system). What is worth mentioning is that the entire project is being carried out by

means of our local expertise, from engineers to technical workers to laborers. According to the testimony of the 'Ayn al-Fijah water establishment and that of a foreign company, the quality of our construction is no less than that done by SOCEA.

Why Has Construction Been Delayed?

The project includes the construction of some 620 km of (alfunt) flexible pipes, whose sections range between 100mm and 120mm, which are intended to distribute water in the city of Damascus. It had been decided that work on this project would be completed at the end of March 1984. Since work began in July 1982, why has the construction been delayed? There are a number of factors that have led to this, among which are:

1. The unavailability of the necessary equipment for the project (ditch excavators, cranes) in spite of the arrival of all the primary material necessary to carry out the work.
2. The 620 km of pipe cannot be laid in 3 years, because to accomplish that would mean that we excavate 200 km per year. This is impossible because of the lack of machinery and the shortage of manpower, in addition to the inability of the city to handle this amount of excavation, especially as we are not the only agency excavating, and the citizens are fed up with these digging operations.

The director continued on the subject of the project:

Currently we are excavating 140 km a year and although we are not digging the desired amount, the work sites on Mt Qasiyun, where we are paving as we excavate, are almost ruining us. Right now we have 10 work teams at work in the city, in addition to which we are undertaking to respond to the appeals of the 'Ayn al-Fijah water establishment.

The Old System and Waste

The director general of the project added:

The old water system suffered no less than 25 percent water loss. This is due to the leakage of water from the crumbling pipes. If by the same token we take into account that the capacity of al-Fijah spring is small in the summer, we comprehend the extent of the importance of changing this system. The matter does not end there, but goes beyond this. By stopping leakage, we stop pollution and the dangers that afflict the buildings whose foundations might be threatened by the flow of water.

Excavations and Immediate Refilling

During our tour it was observed that the water company is refilling right after excavation and laying the pipe. That is, on the same day. This is something that gives the citizens comfort. The work on the main streets,

which have heavy traffic, is done at night. Likewise, we noticed that the company is using new materials that differ from the materials used previously. There are polyethylene pipes for the residential connections. These, according to the director, are distinguished by their durability and resistance to rust.

Also, the new pipes have much wider sections than the old ones. For example, the al-Mazzah district was being supplied by a 400 mm line. Now it will be fed by two lines, with each section 600 mm in size. This means that the amount of water will be more plentiful than before and the need for home pumps will be eliminated.

Difficulties and Problems

Regarding the difficulties that the job has faced, there is the existence of other utilities, like electricity, phone, etc. So when one of these utilities is cut off due to the excavation, we set about repairing it immediately, says the project director. Work in narrow places and alleys, as is the case of Kafr Susa, forces us to remove the earth by hand. Other difficulties are the existence of irrigation canals which are turning up inside residential districts, the shortage of manpower and the shifts.

A Meeting With the Workers

Mr 'Ali Tannish, a driver, told us: I am a day driver. What I complain about is the difficulty of digging in rocky soil, and the lack of places to dump the earth. On the personal level, I suffer from the problem of getting to and from the project.

The project director said: We are obtaining transportation for the city dwellers, but for those who live outside the city, it is difficult to provide transportation, except for those working at night.

'Ali Mahmud Muhammad, a (traks) driver, told us: Working in narrow areas is hard, especially with the existence of other services. With respect to the wages, as we heard from several workers, they are good. The usual job earns 43 Syrian pounds per day. Nevertheless, as the project director told us, there is a lack of manpower. The average number of workers is around 250 and 200 technicians at any one time, and we are in need of 300 workers to carry out the project.

Finally, the project director said:

The cost of the project is around 310 million pounds; 150 million goes for the cost of imported items. The cost of the local operations and construction is around 195 million pounds, of which around 35 million pounds have been spent.

The most important works of the project that have been completed are the construction of two 1,200-mm lines that supply most of the city of Damascus. Both branch off from the western reservoir in al-Muhajirin. One connects with the line already laid in al-Malki; the other connects with a line in Tal'at al-Jamarak.

GAS SHORTAGE WIDESPREAD IN COUNTRYSIDE

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 5 Jul 84 p 2

[Article: "The Gas Problem in the Damascus' Outlying Regions Still Awaits Beneficial Solutions"]

[Text] TISHRIN has observed that the gas problem still exists in the Damascus rural areas, just as it does in the rest of the governorates, in spite of the measures taken by appointed officials and the many discussions that were held between the supply board, represented by a designated member of the executive bureau, the director of supply and internal trade, and the gas directorate, represented once by its director, and several times by his assistant. One of the goals of these discussions was to find a solution to the gas problem that satisfies all parties--the consumer, the distributors, and the gas company--as well as supplying the governorate.

The desired solution was facilitated through the drafting of an agreement so that the general fuels directorate considered it a pioneer experiment and asserted the necessity of its application in the rest of the governorates.

However, the effective result of that draft agreement was minimal, which led to caution and pessimism on the part of some as to the success of the experiment. To the present, the company has failed to distribute the amounts of gas at the fixed times as agreed to regions and villages of the governorates, and the citizens are suffering from the poor distribution of this commodity.

During the successive meetings, the agreement was made that the gas directorate would distribute what has been designated to the regions of the provinces on a weekly basis--that being an agreement reached by all sides and found to be a possible solution. Nevertheless, as we mentioned, the provisions agreed upon remain unimplemented.

With regard to this we point to what Mr Ibrahim Hamad, director of the fuels department, confirmed, that the public affairs department of the company considered the gas experiment in the countryside a pioneer experiment to be expanded to the rest of the governorates, at the same time taking to task neglectful persons and calling for steps to correct the negative aspects of its implementation.

The increase in price that the gas distributors are imposing when gas cylinders are still sold at various prices, the lowest of which is 5 Syrian pounds, must be pointed out.

We have already revealed some of the reasons for this, that is, the gas distributor pays the driver who guarantees the gas delivery a bonus worth nearly half the profit of the allotment every month. What is more, the distributor is not getting his full allotment, which could make up for any shortfall. Furthermore, some of the distributors are greedy. The only loser, as you know, is the citizen.

9614

CSO: 4404/585

NEW SYRIAN OIL DISCOVERY TO INCREASE REGIONAL BALANCE

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 392, 25 Aug 84 p 45

[Text] The past few weeks have witnessed three important events that may lead to a change in the oil map of the Middle East.

1--The finding of oil in small quantities in North Yemen, but which may be the beginning of big oil discoveries in that country, which needs an intensive development program.

2--Egypt's beginning to exploit her new oil finds in 17 different locations, which has increased her reserves to 4.5 billion barrels of petroleum, half of which is natural gas. With this Egypt has been included as a producer and exporter of oil, even though in small quantities.

But the most important event is the big oil discovery in Syria, after the firm conviction on the part of the international oil companies that Syria was devoid of any significant oil reserves. An American exploration group found oil in large quantities, it appears, in the district of Dayr al-Zawr, in northern Syria near the Iraqi border. There are reports that the Americans have told the Syrians that they can produce oil from the field at the rate of 300,000 barrels per day by 1986, that is, so long as the pumping, drawing and transfer installations are built [by then]. Note that Syria has oil outlets on the Mediterranean Sea at Tartus and Baniyas.

The striking thing about the new discovery is that it will put Syria in the list of oil exporting states after she has been, for a long time, producing her own oil requirements at the rate of 180,000 barrels per day and exporting very small quantities with great difficulty because Syrian oil is of low quality because it contains a high percentage of sulfur. But the new discovery contains light crude, and its grade varies between 35 and 36 and is therefore on a par with Saudi light crude and is, to some extent, better than Kuwaiti heavy crude.

Although the American group has not yet clearly expressed the volume of the Syrian oil find, the observers are confident that it is in the range of a billion barrels, at least. On the basis of the rate of production given by the Americans, the reservoir would be exhausted in only 10 years and not in 25 or 50 years, as is the case for most of the middle eastern countries.

Syria's export of 300,000 barrels per day would mean an income of about \$3 billion, the amount needed by the Syrians to finance their ambitious development projects. However, the reactions of the Syrians to this discovery has been cool, awaiting firm, conclusive evidence, apparently. Perhaps this is for purely political reasons. That is to say Damascus does not want to be linked with the United States on such an important oil matter as this. But still, she cannot seek the help of eastern technologies for extracting the oil from this reservoir. Syria is now passing through a tight period. Her battles with Israel consume 70 percent of her budget. And the economic stagnation in the Gulf States has reduced the drafts from Syrians working there to their original homeland. Syria's intensive development programs need foreign and Arab assistance that is not present in the quantities assumed to be available. Besides, such aid leads to increased dependence on others, and this is something the Syrians do not want except in a limited framework. Syria has been helped in recent times regarding a shortage in foreign currency, which has required a harsh approach to imports and the ending of laxity in this regard. But there are big positives having strategic character facing these negatives. Syria is the only Arab country that has been able to realize self-sufficiency in wheat and grain, and is also the only Arab country that was able to maintain food security during the 1970's, and actually increased agricultural and food production by a large percentage. Therefore Syria, among the small countries of the world, is encouraging her citizens to have children. According to American studies compiled in the early 1970's by the RAND Corporation, the experts recognize that Syria is the food store of the East.

Among the more prominent positives is the fact that private Arab and Syrian capital has begun looking to Syria as a field open to investment, especially in the tourism sector. Recent years have witnessed the rise of hotels and tourist establishments in Damascus that have had good success. The Syrian authorities are now encouraging private capital to go into large agricultural projects, such as feed production and raising cattle and poultry. And if these positives are added to the new petroleum discovery, this makes Syria an important regional economic power in addition to her political strength in the area, which was revealed recently through the developments in Lebanon. No doubt Lebanon will be the first to benefit from the new Syrian economic strength, considering the economic ties between the two countries--usually these are outside the numbers and statistics because they are not seen--are organic ties.

Observers also expect that this discovery will lead to increased Syrian independence in the economic and political spheres.

12496

CSO: 4404/639

BRIEFS

SUPPLY VIOLATIONS REVIEWED--There were 9,919 supply-related arrests recorded by the monitoring patrols in all the governorates from the beginning of the year until last April. These arrests were distributed among the governorates as follows: Aleppo, 2,028; City of Damascus, 1,845; Damascus, 1,080; Hims, 903; Hamah, 805; al-Ladhiqiyah, 1,204; Tartus, 219; Idlib, 396; al-Raqqah, 265; Dayr al-Zawr, 186; al-Hasaka, 598; Dar'a, 375; al-Suwayda', 111. In al-Qunaytira governorate, the number of arrests recorded was very small. Until last April there were 3,745 verdicts issued--1,996 guilty and 1,749 not guilty. Some of the guilty verdicts brought up to 6 months and large fines. Last April's violations were as follows: 535 violations for fruits, vegetables, and milk and its derivatives; 204 meat-related violations; 121 bakery closings and flour smuggling violations; 50 for trade and smuggling of construction materials; 10 gas violations; 471 violations by various bakeries for faulty product processing; 213 for food items not conforming to specifications; 13 gauges, weights and measures discrepancies; 12 violations for dirt or other materials in either the dough or the bread, and finally 4 violations for adulterating meat. In the Damascus rural districts alone the supply monitors recorded 1,228 violations from the beginning of the year until the current month. These included: 264 bakery violations; 264 vegetable and fruit violations; 168 butter violations; 170 butcher violations; 2 mechanized bakery violations; 68 dairy violations; 137 gas; and 141 resthouse violations. The Ministry of Supply and Internal Trade has relied on the efforts of the many fellow citizens. It is hoped, therefore, that the cooperation of the citizens with the supply monitoring apparatus will help control the market and reduce violations. We note that the monitoring apparatus in the above cited directorate comprises no more than 10 employees. [Text] [Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 19 Jun 84 p 2] 9614

CSO: 4404/585

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL CENTER--The cabinet of the Yemen Arab Republic agreed recently to a previously submitted agreement to erect a regional center for agricultural improvement and the development of the countryside under the auspices of a United Nations agency. The center will assist in national efforts and regional cooperative efforts for agricultural improvement in the Middle East through a number of agencies designated by the members. The center will also strive to include all the residents of the countryside in the effort to improve production, income, and the standard of living of small farmers. It will also supply the member nations of the center with technical support and consulting services. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 387, 21 Jul 84 p 43] 12551

CSO: 4404/589

PAPERS REPORT VISIT OF YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT

Talks with Gandhi

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 28 Aug 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 27--Mrs Gandhi and the visiting Yugoslav President, Mr Veselin Djuranovic, had an inconclusive first round of talks here today during which they had comprehensive discussion on some of the issues the two are expected to review in the course of its two-day consultations.

Mr Djuranovic, who arrived to a rain-soaked but warm reception this morning, shared with the Prime Minister some of his concerns, particularly those related to the worsening military and economic situation in the world. The two leaders are also believed to have had an in-depth discussion on the working of the non-aligned movement and the challenges posed to its functioning.

Mrs Gandhi, in her initial observations, spoke of the deterioration in the international situation since the last round of consultations between the two countries in June last year. While thanking Yugoslavia for having supported the non-aligned initiatives, including the Group of Palestine and the expert group on money and finance, Mrs Gandhi noted that some of the countries which had sounded "encouraging" prior to the London summit of the developed nations had unfortunately failed to live up to the expectations aroused by them.

Expressing NAM's deep disappointment over the continuing Iran-Iraq war, Mrs Gandhi informed the Yugoslav leader of the various moves initiated by her as the chairperson of the movement to defuse the situation.

The Yugoslav leader stressed the importance attached by his country to bilateral contacts with India. They always felt a certain void if they did not have meetings at State level with India, he observed. While describing the State of bilateral relation as good, he agreed with Mrs Gandhi that the adverse trend in trade and economic relations between the two countries should be reversed. Mrs Gandhi had referred to it as a deterioration in the two countries' economic relations.

The visiting President took a grave view of the international situation. Political differences between countries were affecting their economic relations as well. The deep fissures dividing the world, he noted, were reflected in the non-aligned movement and in some member nations being subjected to strong bloc pressures. The developed countries were increasing the problems of the developing and the non-aligned by aggravating the debt burden.

Mr Djuranovic was, however, glad to note that a conscious effort was being made to maintain the politics and principles of the non-aligned movement despite difficulties. He complimented Mrs Gandhi for having maintained the authenticity of the movement since the seventh summit.

Mrs Gandhi, responding to the observations made by the Yugoslav President, agreed that there was outside pressure on the non-aligned movement. It was receiving no more cooperation from outside than in the past. On the contrary, efforts were being made to divide the non-aligned. She regretted that even on issues like South-South cooperation, not much progress had been made owing to divisions foisted on the movement by outside forces.

She reminded the Yugoslav leader of questions related to and arising from the breakdown in detente namely, the escalating attitudes of confrontation with pressures of all kinds including military, economic, political and even psychological being brought to bear on the developing and the non-aligned. Some of the smaller countries, she said, had as a result been forced to take positions they had earlier stoutly opposed.

The talks between the Prime Minister and the President began with a brief private conversation between the two leaders. The talks will be resumed tomorrow.

PTI adds: At a banquet hosted in honour of Mr Djuranovic, President Zail Singh expressed concern over the "alarming growth" of regional conflicts and repeated the call made at the seventh non-aligned summit to Iran and Iraq to put a "peaceful end" to their war. The President regretted that regional conflicts should have assumed "tragic dimensions" enmeshing even non-aligned nations like Iran and Iraq.

Concern Over Bloc Tendencies

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Aug 84 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Aug. 27.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the President of Yugoslavia, Mr. Vesselin Djuranovic, took a close look today at the many internal imbalances afflicting the non-aligned movement in the wake of the new "bloc tendencies" of some of the member-States.

Their review of the global situation at the first round of talks between the two leaders and their principal aides lasting more than two hours covered many issues like the Iran-Iraq war, the crisis in Lebanon and the Southern African situation against the background of the political, economic, military and even psychological pressures being exerted by the big powers to divide and dominate the third world.

Philosophical turn: But neither side came forward with any new ideas on what the non-aligned community could do to resist such pressures, resolve the disputes between member-States and cooperate among themselves to safeguard their interests. The talks today took a philosophical turn of scanning the dark clouds on the horizon, cautioning the non-aligned community of the many dangers ahead and stressing once again the need for a more equitable international economic dispensation.

The two leaders will continue their talks tomorrow when they will explore the possibilities of any fresh initiatives by the non-aligned community to make the movement increasingly relevant in preserving world peace and promoting international cooperation. Simultaneously, senior officials of the two countries will discuss specific proposals for intensifying Indo-Yugoslav economic cooperation.

Warm reception: The Yugoslav President was accorded a very warm reception on his arrival today with a welcome speech by the President, Mr. Zail Singh, which sought to recapture the old spirit of the Nehru-Tito era with some vibrant expressions. At the State banquet tonight, there were equally eloquent references to the special relationship between the two countries, their shared ideals and commitments.

The two Presidents, in their speeches, voiced concern at the revival of the cold war atmosphere, the continuation of the old tensions and the eruption of new ones in different parts of the world through regional conflicts, the threat to human civilisation and existence posed by the nuclear arms race, and the increasing big power rivalries in sensitive areas like the Indian Ocean.

Global approach: The world economic crisis, the two Presidents noted, called for a global approach since this was basically a problem concerning both the developed and the developing nations. So they renewed the non-aligned plea for an early international conference on money and finance for development, as a prelude to a more comprehensive North-South dialogue.

The Prime Minister and the Yugoslav President are expected to conclude their talks tomorrow with a fervent appeal to both Iraq and Iran to end their conflict and settle their differences through peaceful negotiations. Apart from taking a heavy toll and imposing unbearable suffering on the two peoples, this war had in their view weakened the non-aligned movement.

Trade Pact Signed

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 Aug 84 p 6

[Text]

New Delhi, Aug. 28 (PTI): India and Yugoslavia signed a trade pact here today. The two countries will, under this agreement, form a trade consortium to give a thrust to the bilateral trade between the two countries.

The agreement was signed between the co-chairmen of the Indo-Yugoslav joint committee for economic cooperation, Mr V.P. Singh, Union commerce minister, and Dr Rikard Stajner, member of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia.

Under the agreement, the exchange of goods will be effected by March 31 next which has been valued at \$136 millions.

Both the countries have identified items with values which can be traded between them in link-

ed deals in addition to the normal trade taking place between the two sides.

The two nodal agencies have also signed an agreement to ensure that the linked trade dealings between the two countries are conducted on a balanced basis.

While India has nominated the State Trading Corporation (STC), Yugoslavia has asked its Federal secretariat for foreign trade to monitor the pace of contracting for exports on either side on a continuous basis.

If the balance in contracting between imports and exports exceeds the \$10-million level, the two sides, under the agreement, will meet and take immediate action to correct the trade imbalance.

A banking arrangement was also signed between the State Bank of India and the Yugobanka for import-export linked deals. A special account for linked deals approved by the nodal agencies on either side will be set up in the State Bank of India, London.

The account will be used only for payments related to the linked deals under the commercial contracts concluded between Yugoslav and Indian exporters and importers after the contracts have been approved by the nodal agency on either side and duly advised to the Yugobanka and the SBI.

If at any time, the debit or credit balance of Yugobanka exceeds a level of \$ five millions, the SBI and the Yugobanka will inform the nodal agencies.

Consortium Planned

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Aug 84 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Aug 28.

India and Yugoslavia have agreed to set up a consortium of importers and exporters to function as an institutional mechanism for promoting counter-trade and link deals between the two countries in addition to normal trade flow.

The agreement was reached at the meeting of the Indo-Yugoslav joint committee on economic cooperation here today and the agreed minutes were signed by the respective co-chairman — the Union Commerce Minister Mr. V. P. Singh and the member of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, Dr. Rikard Stajner.

First instance: This is claimed to be the first instance of a counter-trade agreement by India with a country with which trade is conducted on free foreign exchange. This step has been taken with the expectation that it will help reverse the declining trend in trade and raise it to a level of \$170 millions (Rs. 170 crores) in a period of one year.

The trade targeted to be exchanged under link deals in the remaining months of the current financial year is expected to touch \$137 millions — \$68.50 millions each way.

The commodities identified for import under the scheme include: cement, newsprint and printing paper, viscose staple fibre, PVC resin, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, continuous cast copper wire rods, aluminium and aluminium products, fertilizers (urea), non-ferrous metals, spare parts for thermal power stations, telecommunication cables, machine tools, oilfield equipment and roller bearings.

The commodities identified for export to Yugoslavia include: tobacco, tea, finished leather products, iron ore and concentrates, manganese ore, diamond dies, spices, groundnut extractions, other oilseed extractions, castor oil, tractor and other heavy duty tyres, diesel engines, auto parts, coffee, bulk chemicals and pharmaceuticals, molasses, cashew, mica, jute yarn and jute products.

The State Trading Corporation of India and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade of Yugoslavia will monitor the pace of contracting for exports from each country. If the balance

of trade exceeds \$10 millions, the two sides will meet and take corrective steps.

Special bank account: The banking arrangement for the link deals was also entered into today between the State Bank of India and the Yugobanka. A special account for link deals will be opened in SBI, London, which will be used for payments related to them under the commercial contract, concluded between the Yugoslav and Indian exporters and importers. If, at any given point of time, the debit or credit balance of Yugobanka exceeds \$5 millions, corrective steps will be initiated.

The Project and Equipment Corporation (PEC) signed an agreement with two Yugoslav organisations — Pim and Enerjoprojek — for Indian participation in Yugoslav ventures in third countries.

At the joint committee meeting today, the possibilities of industrial collaboration were also discussed and it was noted that many joint collaboration projects had been implemented.

CSO: 4600/1159

REPORT ON COMMUNIQUE OF CPI-M CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEET

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 10 Aug 84 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, Aug. 9: The CPI(M) politburo has expressed "grave concern" over several Opposition parties in Assam supporting the move of the ruling party and the movement against foreigners to disenfranchise several lakh voters.

In a communique issued on the meeting of the politburo of August 6-7, the Central Committee asserted that this largescale disenfranchisement was being proposed without providing any opportunity to those whose names were being removed from the existing list to plead their case. Warning that it could lead to similar moves in other states, the central committee endorsed the decision of the Assam state committee of the party to organise a statewide campaign against it.

Tripura: The politburo accused the ruling party of trying to organise a violent movement in Tripura, demanding the election of the Left Front government there. After Sikkim and Jammu and Kashmir, the Congress(I) was trying to impose President's rule in the state and to declare Tripura "a disturbed area," it said.

It appealed to the democratic forces in the country to resist the authoritarian moves of the Congress(I) in its effort to topple the

non-Congress(I) government in Karnataka, and the campaign against the Left Front government in West Bengal and the Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh where even Union ministers and all-India Congress(I) leaders were taking part.

The communique expressed its disappointment at the approach paper to the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The formal resolution adopted by the National Development Council condemning the four chief ministers and the governments' decision to turn out the officers from the four state governments from attending the meeting suggested a confrontationist attitude towards these state governments, it said.

It regretted the refusal of the Centre to implement the recommendations of the Eighth Finance Commission on the specious plea that it would disrupt the current year's budgets in the states and the Centre.

The politburo made it clear that along with other Left and democratic forces it felt that abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution would only strengthen those who were out to disrupt the unity of the country. The BJP had asked for its abrogation.

TAMIL LIBERATION FRONT LEADER MEETS PRESS IN MADRAS

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Aug 84 p 9

[Text]

MADRAS, Aug. 27.

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leader, Mr. A. Amirthalingam, today claimed the continued support of the majority of the people of the Jaffna peninsula in spite of the failure of the All-Party Conference (APC) to make any progress towards finding a solution to the Tamils problem.

The TULF secretary-general, addressing a press conference, said the Tamils were disappointed and distressed over the fresh spate of violence unleashed by the Sri Lanka armed forces. But they realised that India's continued good offices were 'vital for their safety'. He indicated that his party would attend the APC when it resumes on August 29. But, a formal, final decision on attending would be taken after he held consultations with the other three members of the politburo in Colombo on Tuesday. He had already ascertained the views of the three members who were in Madras, he said.

Delhi's involvement: "Our main concern now is that India's involvement in the process should not in any way be adversely affected by our decision", he said. New Delhi had been exerting pressure on the Sri Lanka President, Mr. Jayewardene, to grant the Tamil some measure of autonomy and work out a peaceful solution. The machinery for working out the settlement was the APC. The TULF was anxious that on no account it should provide Mr. Jayewardene with an excuse to shift the blame on the Tamils party.

Mr. Amirthalingam charged Mr. Jayewardene with lacking in sincerity to work out a political settlement and recalled the manner in which the deliberations had been conducted and the APC meetings adjourned. Since January 10 when the Conference began, it had met 20 times but there had been hardly any progress.

In reply to a question, the TULF leader said the conference, on August 29, would first consider the reports of the two committees—one on devolution of power headed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Premadasa, and the other on education, employment and use of Tamil language headed by the Minister, Mr. Devanayagam. The meeting would later consider

the Second Chamber proposal.

Airport blast: Asked about the bomb blast at the Meenambakkam airport, Mr. Amirthalingam said the island paper *Sun* published full details the following morning. Knowing the ways of Israel's Mossad, he could not rule out the possibility of its involvement in the blast.

The TULF leader said a number of intelligence personnel of the Sri Lanka Government were now in Tamil Nadu. They had come with fictitious Tamil names.

Appeal to Eelam Tamils: He appealed for unity among all sections and organisations of Eelam Tamils. In a statement, he also appealed to the 40,000 odd Sri Lanka Tamils who had arrived in Tamil Nadu as refugees to act in such a way as not to cause any embarrassment to the State Government or inconvenience to the people of Tamil Nadu. "We should all act in such a way as to retain the sympathy and goodwill of the people who have given us shelter", he said.

Mr. Amirthalingam pointed out that the genocidal attack on the Tamils in June and July last year was stopped because of the concern shown by the Government and the people of India. From March this year, the Sri Lanka armed forces had killed over 200 innocent Tamils including women and children, injured several hundreds and damaged property worth over Rs. 5 crores. The Sri Lankan Tamils were grateful to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, and to all political parties for the concern shown during the debate in the Lok Sabha last week.

The destruction caused by the armed forces with the assistance of Mossad, the British SAS, and using sophisticated weapons obtained from Britain, U.S., China, South Korea and South Africa, can "no longer be an internal matter of Sri Lanka but is bound to affect adversely India and other countries of the region", the TULF leader said.

Mr. Amirthalingam charged the Sri Lanka Government with designs to impose a military solution on the unarmed Tamil people. The Sri Lanka Government, through its media, was trying to discredit the democratic leadership of the Tamil people and was playing up stray acts of violence by the militants as an excuse for mass killing of innocent Tamils, he said.

DELHI EXPERTS STRESS NEED FOR TAMIL UNITY

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Sept 2--A renewed effort is being made to bring together various Tamil militant groups in Sri Lanka and persuade them to cooperate with the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) in carrying on a combined struggle for securing their legitimate rights in Sri Lanka through full-fledged provincial autonomy for the Northern and Eastern regions.

The experts on Sri Lankan affairs in Delhi have been stressing the imperative need for unity among the Tamil groups now working at cross-purposes, since they anticipate an intensification of the so-called anti-terrorist operations by the Jayewardene Government during the next few months to crush the Eelam militants fighting for separation.

The main insurgent groups that are engaged in the present revolutionary campaign are (1) the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) led by Mr Umamaheshwaran, (2) Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) headed by Mr Prabhakaran, (3) Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), organised by Mr Padmanabha, (4) Eelam Revolutionary organisers of Sri Lanka (EROS), controlled by Mr Bala Kumaran, (5) Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) which is now run by Mr Srisabharatnam after the murder of Mr Kuttimani and Mr Tangaturai in the Wellikade prison last year, and (6) the National Front for the Liberation of Eelam (NFLE) with no well defined leadership at present.

All these groups are nominally members of the Committee for Eelam Liberation (CEL), which has tried to unite and coordinate their activities to make the maximum impact in pursuit of their common aspiration for independence. But they have not only been functioning separately with little or no coordination, but also indulging in the self-defeating exercise of indulging in ill-planned acts of violence which have provided the Sri Lankan Government with an excuse to hit back indiscriminately by killing innocent civilians, looting shops, shelling towns and burning down villages in savage reprisals to terrorise the Tamil population.

The revolutionary Eelam groups itching for an all-out confrontation with the Sri Lankan security forces have so far refused to cooperate with the TULF leaders who are considered to be no more than emigre politicians waiting pathetically for some miracle to happen to bring about the emancipation of the Tamil people. The Tigers have been openly denouncing the TULF leaders headed by Mr Amirthalingam as though they are of no consequence in this struggle for Tamil Liberation.

The well wishers of the Sri Lankan Tamils, both in Delhi and Madras, want these revolutionary groups to forge a united front with the TULF and carry on a joint struggle.

The Indian fear is that the Sri Lanka problem would get internationalised more and more with the Jayewardene Government turning increasingly to Israel and others for help in its anti-insurgency campaign, if the Tamil militants refuse to strengthen the TULF's hands in negotiating an honourable settlement. It would be both politically and tactically advisable, in the opinion of many well-wishers of the Sri Lankan Tamils, if the militant groups pursue a two-pronged policy of not precluding a negotiated settlement while preparing for an all-out struggle, if the Jayewardene Government is not prepared to concede autonomy for the Tamil majority areas in the Northern and Eastern regions.

It is with this object in view that efforts are being made first to bring together Mr Umamaheshwaran, Mr Prabhakaran, Mr Padmanabha and others, before they could jointly meet Mr Amirthalingam and his colleagues to work out a common strategy for exploring the possibilities of a negotiated settlement while preparing for an all-out struggle if it is forced on them by the Jayewardene Government.

CSO: 4600/1165

ANALYST DISCUSSES GANDHI STAND ON ANDHRA PRADESH

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Aug 84 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Aug. 28.

At a closed-door meeting with Congress (I) MPs from Andhra Pradesh yesterday, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said that the BJP and RSS were exploiting the controversy over the dismissal of Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, both at the local and national levels, to malign her and her party for deriving some advantage during the coming elections.

She asked her partymen to remain united in the face of this challenge and "fight these communal forces" resolutely with all their might, without adopting any apologetic attitude over the formation of a new Government in the State.

The Prime Minister wanted them to rise above their own squabbles and defend the new Chief Minister, Mr. N. Bhaskara Rao, against this campaign of vilification which was really directed against herself, her party and Government. She urged the Congress (I) leaders in Andhra Pradesh to expose the machinations of the Opposition parties which under the guise of supporting NTR were indulging in character assassination.

Pep talk: Mrs. Gandhi said she was astonished that the Opposition parties were disbelieving her word that she was not consulted by the Governor, but she was more pained to see that even some of her party colleagues had fallen prey to their whispering campaign of disinformation.

It was in this context that she called upon the Congress (I) in Andhra Pradesh to abandon its defensive posture and launch a fierce counter-attack on the Opposition with an abiding faith in the party's policies and actions.

This pep talk was given in the course of a series of group meetings the Prime Minister has been having with her party MPs from each State before they go back to their constituencies at the end of what many consider to be the last session of Parliament before the Lok Sabha elections.

The purpose of these group meetings is to

get a first-hand assessment of the Congress (I)'s prospects and the problems that the party might face during the campaign. But in the case of Andhra Pradesh the exercise got enmeshed with the current political crisis in the State.

No hurry on Assembly meet: As very few of the Congress (I) MPs have any authentic knowledge of how she proposes to tackle this situation, Mrs. Gandhi evidently felt it would be desirable to take them into confidence up to a point without disclosing her ultimate intention.

She wanted the Congress (I) to support Mr. Bhaskara Rao, but gave no indication of what she intended to do if he was unable to prove his majority in the Assembly—whether she would favour President's rule or let NTR be reinstated as a tactical move to steal the thunder from the Opposition campaign.

The Prime Minister did not say how soon she expected the Assembly session to be called, or what the Congress (I) should do if Mr. Bhaskara Rao continued to drag his feet, insisting on the release of the MLAs "hijacked" by NTR's men before demonstrating his majority on the floor of the House.

The MPs got the impression that she was also in no particular hurry for this trial of strength until the Congress (I) itself has got into stride and has thrown its full weight behind Mr. Bhaskara Rao.

'MLAs restive': There was considerable excitement in Congress (I) circles today when they received reports from Bangalore that the restive MLAs got into heated arguments last night over how long they should be kept in Karnataka if the Assembly session is not going to be held soon.

Nobody here could vouch for the veracity of these reports, but the Congress (I) leaders were inclined to believe them if only because any talk of further cracks in the NTR camp was like music to their ears, during this excruciating suspense over what would happen when the Assembly was called ultimately to settle Mr. Bhaskara Rao's fate.

JANATA PARTY PRESIDENT COMMENTS ON ELECTIONS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 5 Sep 84 p 9

[Text] JALANDHAR, Sept. 4--The Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, today said the Prime Minister would not go in for elections until and unless she was sure to win, reports PTI. He told a Press conference here that Mrs Gandhi had lost the confidence of the masses and she could not afford to hold elections in the usual way.

"If at all she decides for elections, she would create such a situation where Assam-type elections would become inevitable", he alleged.

As regards Opposition unity and electoral adjustments, he said his party was always ready to cooperate with each and every other Opposition party without any reservations.

Commenting on the latest situation in Punjab, Mr Chandra Shekhar said the Government should withdraw the Army from the Golden Temple complex. Replying to a question, he said that if the Ramakrishna Hegde Ministry in Karnataka was toppled or dismissed because it was sheltering Andhra Pradesh legislators, his party would not mind.

Mr Chandra Shekhar said Mrs Gandhi's party had not won any election after returning to power in 1981. The Congress (I) had lost even in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh where, however, the party "manoeuvred to form Governments because of willing Governors", adds UNI.

Asked to comment on the Congress (I) victory in Delhi metropolitan elections, he said that but for the Sikh and Muslim support lent by the Akali Dal and Mr Farooq Abdullah, her party would not have won even in Delhi.

He said the Army intervention in Punjab had complicated the problem instead of solving it. He said the Army could be withdrawn from the Golden Temple complex. "I will never visit the temple if I have to get a permit for it".

Declining to comment on the Union Home Minister's reported four preconditions for a negotiated settlement on Punjab, the Janata leader said the Government had no "moral right" to lay preconditions on carrying arms inside the temple complex as the Government had sent in armed followers of the Nihang chief, Baba Santa Singh, to the complex.

Mr Chandra Shekhar said Punjab was not a Hindu-Sikh problem and any attempt by any party, be it the Government or the Akalis, to make it so was condemnable. "It is a crime against the nation to give a communal turn to political issues".

Commenting on the alleged foreign intervention in Punjab, he said: "When any foreign power takes interests in our internal affairs, the fault is ours".

CSO: 4600/1171

PAPERS REPORT ON 'WORLD SIKH CONFERENCE' IN AMRITSAR

Delhi Defends Ban

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Sep 84 p 1

[Text]

The Government on Friday defended its decision to deny permission to the Sikh head priests to hold a "World Sikh Convention" in Amritsar on 2 September as there were definite reports that extremist elements would infiltrate into the congregation and convert it into a forum to preach violence and secessionist ideas, reports PTI.

There were also reports that "highly provocative and anti-national resolution" had been drafted to be placed before the convention and posters had appeared in different parts of the State threatening to disrupt the law and order situation in Punjab which was slowly returning to normal, an official spokesman said.

The spokesman said the fact that some elements were forcing the organisers of the convention to take extreme postures had been admitted by Giani Kirpal Singh, the head priest of the Akal Takht.

He has rightly advised the Sikhs to hold congregations in different gurdwaras in the absence of the permission to the convention and adopt the resolutions drafted by the organising committee, the spokesman said.

The spokesman made it clear that as of today there was no restriction on holding of usual Sunday congregations in any gurdwara in Punjab. There was also no curfew in any part of the State but prohibitory orders under Section 144 CrPC were in force in Amritsar as a precautionary measure, he said.

Replying to questions about the position with regard to the Gurdwara 'Shaheedan' in Amritsar, the spokesman said nearly 6,000 persons had gathered inside its premises till Friday morning. The capacity of the gurdwara was estimated to be around 10,000.

Replying to another question, the spokesman said that it was not the question as to how many people gather there. The real question was what kind of people assembled there and what sort of deliberations take place.

Asked what steps the Government was contemplating to maintain law and order around the Gurdwara 'Shaheedan' the spokesman said the local authorities in consultation with the State Government would take all appropriate measures as situation warrants, he said.

The spokesman said there could be no comparison between the 'Sarbat Khalsa' held in Amritsar on 11 August and the proposed convention. The organisers of the 'Sarbat Khalsa' had ensured that no undesirable elements infiltrated into their congregation and that no provocative resolutions were placed, he said.

The real force behind the convention was the Akali Dal and the head priests did not have any control over the extremist elements trying to dominate the show, the spokesman said.

Asked whether some Sikhs had come from abroad to participate in the convention, the spokesman said there was no unusual influx of Indians settled abroad.

In reply to another question, the spokesman said there were reports of any poster or literature being circulated among the Indians settled abroad in connection with the proposed convention. However, some invitations were sent by the organisers to some countries, he said.

UNI adds: Travel to cities in the State would not be restricted, and no stringent security measures like curfew are contemplated as of now. However, the sources said, it was for the local administration to take necessary steps to deal with the evolving situation.

The Prime Minister, the Home Minister and other leaders had received many letters from the general public from Punjab suggesting that those associated with the management of gurdwara and religious shrines should not be allowed to indulge in any kind of political activity. Likewise, the political leaders should also not be permitted to take part in the management of such shrines.

Suggestions have also been made to ban by law carrying on of any kind of weapon into the gurdwara.

The suggestions were under consideration of the Government.

Proceedings Described

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 3 Sep 84 pp 1, 9

[Text] Amritsar, Sept 2--The world Sikh convention called by the five head priests here today served an ultimatum on the Government to withdraw the Army from the Golden Temple complex by September 30, failing which the priests would lead a "massive march to liberate the temple on October 1," reports PTI.

Prem Kumar adds: The convention today endorsed the five head priests' decision to socially boycott Mr Zail Singh and Mr Buta Singh for their roles in the Army operation at the Golden Temple and the organization of "kar seva" through Baba Santa Singh respectively.

The "hukam" was announced by Sahib Singh, head priest of the Golden Temple, and accepted by the gathering through slogans.

Jathedar Kirpal Singh, chief of the Akal Takht appeared to all Sikhs to march to Amritsar, when necessary and sacrifice all to free the Golden Temple in a peaceful manner. The decisions were described as "hukam" and the future course of action for the Sikh community.

Nine other resolutions, which were said to have been passed by the five head priests, were also read out and presumably passed by the convention.

There was, however, no vote and soon after the resolutions were passed there was commotion when a small group of Bhindranwale supporters waved his picture and raised pro-Khalistan slogans. They pushed their way towards the stage and interrupted proceedings.

The organizers, including the head priests, appealed for calm while some organizers said that the group consisted of miscreants. Much of the proceedings consisted of speeches by head priests and the reading out of resolutions which clearly reflected a hard tone both in content and style of speech.

There were heavy security arrangements but rain seemed to have upset the calculations of both the organizers and the authorities. No incident of violence was reported from the city. Mr Zail Singh and Mr Buta Singh were declared "tankhayya" (culprits) and it was announced that they would face boycott from Sikhs till they presented themselves before the head priests, apologized and received punishment.

Various resolutions were read out by Giani Sahib Singh. Homage was paid to those who had fallen victim to the Army action at the Golden Temple.

The Government "attack" on Sikh religion through a "conspiracy" on the pretext of containing terrorism was condemned and a high powered inquiry was demanded into the incidents.

Organisation of the "seva" against Sikh traditions was condemned and the head priests' action of excommunicating Baba Santa Singh was appreciated. Withdrawal of troops from the temple complex was demanded. The demands of dissolving the SGPC and amendment of the Gurdwara Act by the Sarbat Khalsa meeting was criticised and opposed. The resolution said the Government wanted to control Sikh religion and it would not be tolerated. The arrest of young men and fake encounters against them was condemned as were special courts and the National Security act.

The Acts should be repealed, it was contended. Another resolution defended Army deserters after the Amritsar action and said that no action should be taken against them. They had not been traitors to the country but had shown courage and devotion to religion.

The Government action in stopping Sikhs from attending the convention was criticized, especially after the Government machinery had been misused to hold the Sarbat Khalsa meet. It demanded the right of Sikhs living in foreign lands to visit their shrines in India.

A resolution called for unity among all Sikh groups and suggested that they collect under the banner of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Jathedar Iirpal Singh, speaking on the occasion, called on international bodies like the Human Rights Commission and Amnesty International to send observers to Punjab and see how atrocities on the Sikhs and in their temples had been committed. He wanted them to get justice. He appealed to the Sikhs to be ready to make sacrifices and asked the Government to give up the line of confrontation with Sikhs.

Our Staff Reporter adds: At a meeting held in Calcutta on Sunday members of the Sikh Co-ordination Committee adopted a resolution rejecting the conditions laid down by the Union Home Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, for further negotiations with the Akali Dal on their demands. The Sikhs of West Bengal considered such conditions below the dignity of the Panth, the resolution said.

Members of the committee observed "protest day" on Sunday throughout the State and condemned the reported restrictions imposed on the convention in Amritsar.

The resolutions were adopted at a special congregation at Guradwara Jagat Sudhar. The Co-ordination Committee expressed its solidarity with the convention in Amritsar.

Leaders' Names Not Mentioned

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 3 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Amritsar, Sept 2--The Sikh conventionists did not mention the names of their leaders, whether Akali or panthic, at today's meeting. None of the big names--Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, Mr G.S. Tohra, Mr Prakas Singh Badal, Mr Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and others--figured in the resolutions or main speeches at the convention.

In fact, some young supporters of Bhindranwale vehemently protested and disturbed the meeting for some minutes because their leader was not mentioned. They raised pro-Bhindranwale and pro-Khalistan slogans and tried to grab the stage. They even displayed a Khalistan flag. One of the Granthis, speaking after the incident explained that it was not known whether Bhindranwale was dead or alive and so it was not thought necessary to pay homage to him. The convention came to an end soon afterwards.

The other name which created problems for the organizers was that of Sant Harchand Sing Longowal. A resolution affirming faith in his leadership was dropped at the last moment. This was one of the 10 resolutions prepared by the five head priests.

Instead of this resolution, Giani Sahib Singh, head priest of the Golden Temple, read a general resolution calling for unity of all groups under the banner of Shromani Akali Dal. It is understood that it was decided to drop reference to Sant Longowal at the last moment as the organizers feared strong protests against any appreciation of Longowal from a section of the convention. To avoid such a situation, the reference was dropped. There was no occasion to talk about the other leaders, too.

The Akali leaders, who were present at the convention were not asked to speak. They included a few MLAs. A surprise inclusion in list of speakers was Mr Amarinder Singh, former Congress (I) MP who had resigned in protest against the Army action at the Golden Temple.

Though the head priests declared Mr Zail Singh and Mr Buta Singh as "tankhayya" (guilty before religion) and asked for their social boycott, the Army Generals were spared. Earlier, the SGPC and the Akali leaders had included Sikh Army generals also for social boycott.

Resolutions Reported

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 3 Sep 84 p 4

[Text] Amritsar, Sept 2--The world Sikh convention today strongly condemned the kar seva of the Akal Takht "started by the government tout, Nihang Santa Singh." It described the Union government as "communal minded" and called upon Sikhs to gather under the banner of the Akali Dal in their struggle against "Delhi rulers" for "achievement of justice."

Describing those killed during the Army action in the Golden Temple complex as "Sikh martyrs," the resolutions adopted by the convention went on to "appreciate the act of those Sikhs in the Army who have protested against the brutal Army operation in the Golden Temple." The resolution further demanded that the government take no action against these Armymen "for they have demonstrated their religious feeling and devotion."

In a strong condemnation of the attack on the Darbar Sahib and Akal Takht, the resolution said the Centre had done so "as an unpius conspiracy and under the excuse of an operation against some extremists."

The resolutions, significantly, use the term Sikh nation and points out that the Sikh nation "will never tolerate any change in the present democratic set-up of the SGPC which was achieved after a long struggle and big sacrifices by the Sikh panth."

The convention dropped a resolution "reiterating full confidence in the leadership and policies of "Sant Longowal." It had been included in the earlier draft resolution circulated to the press but did not figure in the final document.

The following resolutions were passed at the world Sikh convention here today:

--Today's huge gathering of the "all world Sikh convention" pays homage to the Sikh martyrs (men, women and children) who laid down their lives during the Army operation in the Golden Temple, Amritsar, and many other holy shrines of the Sikhs, in the month of June 1984.

This convention prays that the Almighty Lord may bestow eternal peace on the "departed souls" and give courage to the Khalsa Panth to bear this loss by accepting His will.

--Today's massive gathering highly condemns the cruel attack of the Army on the centres of "bhakti" and shakti" Sri Darbar Sahib and the Akal Takht Sahib and it feels that the communal-minded Central government has done so as an unpius conspiracy and under the excuse of an operation against "some extremists," and by doing so the government blew up Sri Akal Takht, Darshini Deori and other buildings around the Golden Temple, it burnt 2,500 holy and historic volumes of hand-written Guru Granth Sahib--the holy book of the Sikh--thousands of rare manuscripts and rare books on history, religion and culture of Punjab and the Sikhs, historic paintings in the Sikh museum, the valuable historic records of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandak Committee and of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

--Today's convention strongly condemns this attack on the Sikh nation and demands immediate withdrawal of the Army from the Darbar Sahib complex and other religious shrines of the Sikhs and setting up of a high-power commission to make an enquiry about all that has happened during the Army operation in the Golden Temple, Amritsar, and other Sikh shrines in Punjab.

--This "all world Sikh convention" strongly condemns the so-called kar seva of the Akal Takht, started by a government tout Nihang Santa Singh under the protection of the Army.

--This huge gathering feels that by doing so, the government has left this tout act not only against the Sikh traditions, Sikh ceremonies and the Sikh decorum, but has also put salt on the wounded hearts of the Sikhs.

This convention warns the government that the Khalsa Panth would never tolerate this unfair act.

--This huge gathering demands that the government should immediately stop this show of the "sarkar seva" being done by its agent and withdraw Army from the Golden Temple complex and hand over its management to the representative and elected body of the Sikhs, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandak Committee, so that the Sikhs can do the kar seva according to the Sikh traditions and customs.

--This massive "all world Sikh convention" strongly condemns the demand of dissolving the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandak Committee put forward by the so-called Sarbat Khalsa which was organised by the Congress Party on August 11, 1984.

--This convention warns that the Sikh nation will never tolerate any change in the present democratic set up of the SGPC, which was achieved after a long struggle and big sacrifices by the Sikh Panth. This convention also reminds that under the Nehru-Tara Singh pact, no change in the Gurdwara Act can be done without the consent of the SGPC.

--This convention feels that by doing such conspiracies, the government wants that its agents may get hold on the Sikh shrines, which is an attack on the constitutional rights of the Sikhs and an insult of democracy and secularism.

--This huge "all world Sikh convention" strongly condemns the large scale arrests of the innocent Sikh youths in the name of extremists and killing of the Sikh young persons by the police and Army personnel in false encounters.

--This convention warns the government that the Army attacks on the religious places and the misuse of the armed forces for the solution of political problems would prove damaging for the democratic and secular setup of the country.

--This convention strongly condemns the setting up of the special courts and the National Security Act and feels that these steps are insult of the judiciary and the Constitution, for by doing so, the government has snatched away the fundamental rights of justice, declared in the Constitution of India. The immediate withdrawal of such laws and acts is demanded by this convention.

--This "all world Sikh convention" appreciates the act of those Sikhs in the Army who have protested against the brutal Army operation in the Golden Temple. This convention feels that by doing so, they have demonstrated their strong attachment to their faith. The convention demands from the government that no action should be taken against these Armymen for they have demonstrated their religious feeling and devotion.

--This convention also highly appreciates those who have raised voice against the recent attacks on the Sikhs and their religion and who have returned their awards and titles as a protest against such acts of the government.

Balance Sheet of Convention

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Sep 84 p 9

[Article by Prem Kumar]

[Text] Amritsar, Sept 3--What is the balance sheet of the world Sikh convention, called by the five head priests, here yesterday?

Among its gains, the convention enthused the community, many of whom had been living in some sort of isolation and vacuum since the Army operation in Punjab. There was the usual mobilization campaign, which brought some life among the Akali followers and activists who long had lived under the threat of the terrorists and then in fear of the authorities. That they managed to collect thousands of people despite the arrest of their leaders, restrictions on traffic movement in the State and extra security measures by the police and para-military forces, is no mean achievement.

It should, however, be pointed out that the talk about the actual number of participants is uncalled for. It is not only that the estimates vary from 20,000 to 200,000, but also it is out of context. In the context of restrictions, the numbers become irrelevant.

What matters, however, is the nature of representation. If the organizers had thought that the Government would allow the type of Sikhs in foreign countries expected at the convention to come to India, they were day-dreaming. Despite weak claims by some organizers, one did not come across any Sikhs from abroad at the convention and one of the main speakers admitted this. Thus, it was a world convention only nominally. One also got an impression that it attracted mainly those supporting the Longowal group. Bhindranwale supporters were also conspicuous but they had apparently come to disturb the convention rather than to attend it.

The Participants

The participants, as at most Sikh congregations, were of all kinds. There were the simple village people, including women, who became emotional whenever the "attack" on the Golden Temple was referred to. But quite a few of them were unhappy when a section raised Khalistan slogans. "This is

unfair," one of them said when the meeting was disturbed. There were the boisterous young men, many of whom just roamed about on the road outside the Gurdwara Shaheedan raising slogans and stopping reporters to show them Khalistan flags or to say how many hundreds of thousands of people were attending the convention. There was a sprinkling of Akali leadership sitting on the podium or behind it, but they kept a low profile.

CSO: 4600/1169

INDIAN MESSAGE URGES SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 27 Aug 84 p 5

[Text]

New Delhi, Aug. 26 (PTI): India today urged the international community to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa to compel it to pay heed to the freedom struggle of the Namibian people.

In a message to the president of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha, said India had consistently and unreservedly expressed its firm support to the immediate and full implementation of the independence plan for Namibia as laid down in the Security Council resolution.

We stand fully behind the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, particularly at a time when the racist South African regime is conceiving of every possible devious scheme to delay implementation

of the resolution," Mr Mirdha said.

"The world cannot accept extraneous linkages which have no bearing on the basic issue which is the independence, freedom and dignity of the people of Namibia," Mr Mirdha added.

"Namibia Day commemorates the epic struggle of the people of Namibia in the liberation of what is their rightful homeland from South African subjugation."

"On this day of remembrance and rededication, the government and the people of India and the nonaligned movement as a whole applaud and pay tribute to the great sacrifices made and steadfast determination shown by a brave people who have vigorously continued their struggle for the unexceptionable cause of freedom and self-determination," the message said.

CSO: 4600/1155

GANDHI PATNA AIRPORT REMARKS TO PRESS REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Sep 84 p 1

[Text]

Patna, Sept 5

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ruled out any change in the present system of the government without taking the people into confidence.

She said that public consensus would be arrived at before going in for any change. The switch-over would be preceded by a debate of national level with the Opposition parties, she added.

Speaking to newsmen at Patna airport, the Prime Minister said that no system of government in the world could be described as ideal and perfect. Every system had its plus and minus points and hence it was necessary to study the pros and cons of the form of government before switching over from the present system.

The presidential form of government, too, was not without its shortcomings, Mrs Gandhi said.

In reply to a question, the Prime Minister ruled out reimposition of emergency in the country. "The patient can not be given the same medicine twice", she added.

Earlier, defending the emergency imposed in the country in 1975, she denied, however, that any wrong was done at that time.

"It might have been misused at lower levels in some cases, she said and added that the "same medicine should not be given twice".

Replying to a question, the Prime Minister said that the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections would be held as per schedule. "There is absolutely no question of postponing the election".

Expressing concern over arms preparedness by Pakistan, the Prime Minister asked people to remain united and vigilant. "No power on earth can harm us if the country remains united", she said.

The Prime Minister also denied the allegation that she was trying to divert the attention of

the people by raising the bogey of external danger. However, "India could not ignore the external threats", she said.

Expressing concern over the arms race she said that it was a matter of worry for all.

Speaking on Punjab, she said that the situation was still not normal there and the people were being misled by anti-national elements.

She said that serious facts have been divulged by the terrorists who had been interrogated.

Asked to comment on the role of her party in Andhra Pradesh, she said that it was yet to be decided. She accused the Telugu Desam Party of indulging in politics of money and threat and decried the ways in which the legislators were being held up in hotels in Karnataka.

The Prime Minister said the Andhra Pradesh crisis was due to the split in Telugu Desam. She also accused Mr Rama Rao of having included the outsiders in the parade before President Zail Singh.

She wondered as to why the newspapers in the country had not raised hue and cry, when constitutionally elected governments were dismissed in UP, Bihar, Karnataka and other States in the past.

Assailing the Opposition parties for this 'dubious role' in Andhra Pradesh, she said that they had "no face to accuse me of throttling democracy".

She denied the Opposition charge that Congress-I was trying to buy legislators in non-Congress-I ruled States.

Mrs Gandhi denied that Rajiv Gandhi was influencing the Government. He was functioning as a general secretary of the party.

About 50 people belonging to different non-Congress-I youth organisations were rounded up when they greeted Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with black flags along her drive from Patna airport to Srikrishna Memorial Hall.

DEFENSE POSTS UPGRADED, CONCESSIONS ANNOUNCED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 31 Aug 84 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, Aug. 30 (UN) The government today sanctioned a second cadre review for the defence forces involving a major upgradation of posts and a number of concessions for men and officers.

The cadre review, which will involve a financial commitment of Rs 30 crores a year, is aimed at improving the quality and morale of the services and attracting youth to a career in the defence forces.

The time-scale promotion period for majors has been reduced from 13 to 11 years and for lieutenant colonels from 24 to 21 years and their equivalent ranks in the Navy and the Air Force to end stagnation at this level.

A major concession has also been ordered for Army jawans and their equivalents in the Navy and the Air Force who would not now retire in the same rank. A sepoy will get time-scale promotion as lance naik three years before the completion of engagement and as naik one year before it. The jawans retire after 17 years of service.

As a result of the cadre review, there will be a 25 per cent increase in the number of posts from major to lieutenant general in the Army, from lieutenant commander to vice admiral in the Navy and from squadron leader to air marshal in the Air Force.

The number of posts have been increased only to open up more promotion prospects for officers but without raising the total strength of the three forces.

Besides upgradation of posts, the review involves an increase in the ratio of grant of honorary commissions and the sanctioning of time-scale promotions.

The financial commitment of cadre review proposals for officers of the three services will be Rs 1.7 crores and that of other ranks and junior commissioned officers Rs 12.5 crores per annum.

The new concessions include free ration to brigadiers and their equivalent in the other two services, liberalised travel concessions, enhancement of authorised married establishment, increase in ratio of long service, good conduct and meritorious service medals with gratuity. It also includes daily allowance for halts at outstations on temporary duty to personnel below officer rank and equalisation of scales of ration in peace and field areas for Army JCOs and other ranks.

Of these concessions costing Rs 16.4 crores per annum, Rs 14.5 crores relate to the benefits given to JCOs and other ranks.

The concessions announced today are in addition to those which were sanctioned in January, 1983 amounting to Rs 30 crores.

The first cadre review for the forces was announced on January 15, 1980 which, besides opening up more promotion prospects, introduced selection pay grade for officers. It was then announced that thereafter, a triennial cadre review of the defence services will become a regular feature.

Ex-gratia for pensioners: The government also sanctioned ad hoc ex-gratia payment ranging from Rs 10 to Rs 75 per month to defence pensioners who retired prior to September 10, 1970.

Defence pensioners who retired on or after September 10, 1970 but prior to January 1, 1973 will also get ad-hoc ex-gratia payments ranging from Rs 10 to Rs 25 per month.

The payments will be effective from September 1, and pension disbursing officers, banks, treasuries and post offices have been authorised to disburse it.

The rates, which will also be applicable to equivalent ranks in the Navy and the Air Force, are reservists Rs 10, sepoys and naiks Rs 25, havildars, naib subedars and subedars Rs 30, subedar majors, honorary commissioned officers, non-regular officers granted emergency or short service commissions Rs 35, lieutenant to lieutenant colonels Rs 40, colonels and brigadiers Rs 75, and MNS officers up to the rank of brigadiers Rs 40 per month.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER ANNOUNCES INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Sep 84 p 5

[Text]

Final estimates from the States had put the foodgrains production in 1983-84 at 151.54 million tonnes. Union Agriculture Secretary S P Mukerji announced in New Delhi on Monday, reports PTL.

Addressing the 12th All India Plant Protection Conference, Mr Mukerji said the production would have gone up to 160 million tonnes had there been a better management of pests and crop diseases by the States.

The final estimates of foodgrains for the year are a little more than the earlier provisional estimates of 151 million tonnes by the Agriculture Ministry.

In 1982-83, the foodgrains production was 129 million tonnes in spite of widespread droughts in parts of the country.

Encouraged by over 20 million tonnes rise in the previous year, the Ministry has revised the original target of 153.6 million tonnes to 156 million tonnes for 1984-85.

The Agriculture Ministry sources are hopeful that with an exceptionally good monsoon in most parts of the country for the third year in succession, the revised target is not beyond the reach.

In his address, Mr Mukerji said the consumption of pesticides had increased considerably during the last few years to 300 grams per hectare as against an average of 1,500 grams in Japan and 1,000 grams in Europe and USA. Large agricultural areas still remained without the application of pesticides which resulted in losses of crops, he added.

He said the States had not paid proper attention to plant protection measures. Hardly 2.5 per cent of the funds provided for agricultural development was spared for plant protection. Even out of this meagre amount, 43 per cent was not utilised by the States, he added.

He said plant protection suffered much with only 878 surveillance units, against the country's 5000 blocks. He suggested at least five per cent of the agricultural budget should be earmarked for plant protection and an additional director should be in-charge of the programme implementation.

Mr Mukerji said the number of retail sale outlets for pesticides was quite inadequate with 62,000 of them under the control of the private sector as against only 9,500 under the public sector. As a result, the interior and rural areas remained ignored.

To overcome this situation, he said, about 45,000 retail outlets were proposed to be set up through primary cooperative societies which would improve the situation.

The agriculture secretary said the capacity of pesticides testing laboratories would be raised from the present 34,435 samples annually to one lakh per annum. The requirement was estimated at over two lakh samples. At present there were only 35 of these laboratories.

He said the installed production capacity of the pesticides plants was not fully utilised as a result of which the prices of pesticides were on the high side. He urged the pesticides manufacturers to implement the letters of intent issued to them.

CSO: 4600/1166

BRIEFS

INDO-SOVIET TALKS--New Delhi, Sept 3--In the context of the forthcoming U.N. General Assembly session, there were consultations between India and the Soviet Union at the Ministry of External Affairs here today. The Soviet delegation was led by Mr Y.E. Fokin, secretary general in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while the Indian delegation was headed by the Additional Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr J.S. Teja. The exchange of views covered a wide range of topics including disarmament, the situation in West Asia, the Iran-Iraq war, South and South-east Asia, the proposed U.N. conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and South Africa, particularly Namibia. While Mr Fokin outlined his country's views on various issues, Mr Teja specially referred to the initiatives India had taken with other non-aligned countries on West-Asia, Cyprus, the Iran-Iraq war and for promoting an equitable world economic and information order. Mr Teja also referred to Mrs Gandhi's appeal jointly with the Presidents of Tanzania, Mexico, Argentina and the Prime Ministers of Sweden and Greece for peace and disarmament. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Sep 84 p 9]

ENVOYS TO VIETNAM, SUDAN--New Delhi, Sept 2 (UNI)--Mr Pushkar Johari, deputy high commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, has been appointed as India's ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. He succeeds Mr Kuldip Sahdev. Mr Johari is expected to take up his assignment shortly. Mr Nareshwar Dayal of the Indian embassy in Washington has been appointed as the ambassador to Sudan in succession to Mr Lakshmi Narasimhan Rangarajan. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 3 Sep 84 p 5]

CSO: 4600/1168

IRAN

NEW JUSTICE MINISTER REPORTEDLY REFUSES TO TAKE UP POST

GF202012 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 20 Sep 84

[Text] Mr Habibi, the new minister of justice of the Khomeyni regime, is avoiding taking up his office at the ministry. He has said that under the constitution of the Islamic Republic there is no place for a supreme judicial council. According to the Free Voice of Iran correspondent in Tehran, Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister of the regime, who had obtained a vote of confidence for Mr Habib from the Majlis of mullahs, is under pressure from the mullahs who are demanding that Mr Habibi attend to his office. However, Mr Habibi has announced that he will not begin his work at the regime's Ministry of Justice until the Supreme Judicial Council is abolished.

The report by our correspondent says that the joint session of the Supreme Judicial Council and the cabinet of Hoseyn Musavi held yesterday failed to achieve this objective and both failed to reach agreement regarding the issue of persuading Mr Habibi to begin working at his office at the Ministry of Justice.

The Supreme Judicial Council of the Islamic Republic has become a court of honor of Khomeyni. Mr Habibi, the new minister of justice of the Khomeyni regime, wants Musavi Ardabili, the chairman of this court of honor, to resign, and wants this so-called judicial council to be dissolved.

CSO: 4640/414

IRAN CLANDESTINE WARNS OF REVOLUTION GUARDS COUP

GF181026 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 17 Sep 84

[Unattributed talk: "The Revolution Guards Coup"]

[Text] Dear listeners, the Revolution Guards of Khomeyni, who brought the ruler of Jamaran to power 5 years ago through terrorism and murder, are today trying to take over the administration of affairs for themselves. The best proof of this trend is that the grappling within the Revolution Guards is increasing day by day. Differences between various groups of the Revolution Guards have reached such a point that informed sources report rumors of a possible coup by these Revolution Guards to take power. In this talk entitled the Revolution Guards Coup the objectives of these former supporters of Khomeyni will be discussed.

Patriots: In previous news reports and talks we repeatedly stressed that rival groups and bands were making preparations so that after the death of Khomeyni they should capture the seats of power for themselves and occupy key positions.

In a country in which, in various forms and disguises, soldiers, committee members, and mobilized personnel, numbering into the hundreds of thousands of people, have acquired arms, it is apparent that the struggle for power will not take place without bloodshed. Therefore, it is expected that another massacre of the turbaned ones will take place, the parallel of which could be found only in war between the Khomeyni regime and that of Saddam Husayn. It will not be an accident that the group which has more arms and personnel will claim for itself the greater share of power or even succeed in assuming total power. It was also not by accident that Khomeyni, in one of his recent speeches, cautioned the Revolution Guards against interfering in the workings of the government and the mosques.

Yes, according to the evidence and facts in hand the Revolution Guards corps intend to capture power through a coup d'etat. The Revolution Guards corps would rather spring this coup d'etat after Khomeyni's death, but the same evidence also indicates that it is not necessary that the corps await Khomeyni's death. For the same reason, the corps, making use of the arms it has and the power it has already acquired, want to penetrate all departments of the state, that is, the advisory council, the cabinet, and the so-called revolutionary institutions; in short, every department that it is possible to penetrate.

The influence of the Revolution Guards corps has reached a point that even Khomeyni, who at one time wanted the Revolution Guards to be everywhere, today is forced to limit their power.

According to reports received by us, the visits of Revolution Guard leaders to the neighboring countries of the so-called Islamic Republic, including the recent visit of Mohsen Rafiqdust, the minister for the Revolution Guards corps, to Libya, was undertaken so that in case a coup d'etat succeeds formal recognition would be acquired immediately from such countries as Libya, Syria, and South Yemen, and later from the Eastern bloc countries. This would pave the way toward international recognition of the Revolution Guards corps as soon as possible and finally they would acquire international recognition.

It is quite natural that the ruling clerics, that is, the Shari'a rulers, and the Friday Imams on the one hand, and the so-called Islamic revolutionary committees on the other hand, would be very possible the prime sacrifices of the coup d'etat by the Revolution Guards corps, who also are not sitting idle. They are also in turn busy making themselves ready for the coming showdown in the power struggle within the so-called Islamic Republic. The Revolution Guards corps, which wherever possible make themselves directly available in the arena also take precautions not to provoke the ire of Khomeyni any more. They keep hidden behind the Majlis deputies, the cabinet ministers, and the clerics who are in league with the corps and more often place the mobilized forces in the forefront. Similarly the committee members have also gone under cover and have taken positions behind the clerics but close to them. Even today in matters of general concern and in (?special) situations, like the guarding of radio transmitters and television, the guarding of post and telegraph offices, and security around the airports, there exists bitter rivalry, both open and hidden, between the rival groups.

The politicians of the so-called Islamic Republic who belong to the rival groups, also will not survive unscathed from any bloody showdown without the armed support of this or that group. The showdown, the start of which is in evidence at present, is likely to gain intensity after the death of Khomeyni. However, from the very same struggle for power, one day the Iranian nation will rise from its ashes and open its eyes on a regime that will have no relation to any of the institutions created by this unfortunate and sinister revolution. [sentence indistinct]

CSO: 4640/415

RADIO IRAN ON AUTHENTICITY OF HIJACKING CLAIM

GF171934 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 17 Sep 84

[Excerpts] The Islamic Republic has again claimed that it has foiled another hijack attempt in Iranian skies and that three individuals who were trying to hijack the Tehran-Bushehr flight to go to France have been arrested. The Islamic Republic broadcast a television show two nights ago and showed the supposed confession of a number of people who allegedly were the arrested hijackers.

The new claim by the Islamic Republic concerning the arrest of three other hijackers comes in the wake of the laughable and disgraceful attempt by the Islamic Republic to hijack an Iraqi aircraft. Three agents of the Islamic Republic who wanted to change the course of a Boeing 727 of Iraqi Airways the night before last were killed by security agents on board. The Iraqi aircraft was going from Cyprus to Baghdad.

Experts say that the claim by the Islamic Republic concerning the repeated arrest of hijackers is only a ploy to stop the people of Iran from attempting new hijacks. Even if such claims are true, they are another strong proof of the extent of the hatred and disgust of the people of Iran for the regime of thieves in Tehran and the effort of these people who are prepared to risk their lives to escape and bring the innocent cries of Iranians to the world.

CSO: 4640/416

MINISTER SAYS WHEAT 'TO BE IMPORTED IF REQUIRED'

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 13 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 12--The Federal Agriculture Minister, Vice Admiral Mohammed Fazil Janjua, has said that the Government will not hesitate to import wheat if required for stabilising its market and for keeping its prices at a reasonable level.

The country has been maintaining self-sufficiency in its wheat requirements since 1980, and since then no wheat has been imported. He said: "We have built up national reserves of 1.8 million tonnes in addition to the current year production of 10.9 million tonnes, which are enough to meet the country's needs." He said in case of irregularities in the marketing by the private sector, stocks from the reserves will be released and if required wheat will be imported to keep the prices at a reasonable level and protect the consumers against any exploitation.

The Minister was answering questions in T.V. programme "Roo Baroo" to a panel of journalists and a grower.

He said that the wheat production dropped this year by 12 percent due to a long dry spell followed by heavy rains affecting the plant and its size and the weight of the grain.

Mr Fazil Janjua said that the country had exported three lakh tonnes of wheat including 45,000 tonnes of wheat flour to Iran last year.

The influx of three million Afghan refugees, has increased the wheat requirements by 1.5 lakh tonnes and foreign assistance in wheat is not enough to meet the demand.

About the current cotton crop the Agriculture Minister said that in Punjab province it is in a good condition despite rains and bad weather. Although there has been damage to the crop in Sind, it is not above the economic injury level. He said some 40 lakh acres in Punjab and 16 lakh in Sind are under cotton crop this year.--APP

CSO: 4600/768

SHORTCOMINGS OF COUNTRY'S CROPPING PATTERN DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN Business Supplement in English 15-21 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by Tariq Zaheen: "How We Lose Rs. 50 bn in a Year"]

[Text]

ACCORDING to official figures, about 25 per cent of the cultivable land in the country is not at all being used for any purpose, mainly by the large farm owners, holding units of about 50 acres.

In terms of money, Pakistan is losing about Rs. 50 to Rs 60 billion in a year because of low use of land and lower intensity of cropping and non-provision of jobs to about 100,000 agricultural labour force.

The figures further reveal that about 30 per cent of the cultivated land is tilled by tenants — living below poverty line — and about 50 per cent land is ploughed by the daily work charged tenants, earning just at the marginal subsistence level.

These figures appear in a report prepared some time back, involving about 20,000 people who completed their work in a span of 18 months.

Basis for reform

Though the report did not suggest any step to rectify the situation, it could become a basis for another land reform, which some sections in the government thought, was required for progressive development of the agriculture sector.

According to the report, the intensity of cropping and land used by tenants is the highest in the province of Sind while in Punjab it is much lower. Of the remaining, overall percentage the ratio of cropping intensity and land used is highest among the owners in the NWFP while in Baluchistan it is lowest in all respects.

The average intensity of the overall land used in Pakistan is 89 per cent for all categories of farms but in the tenant operated farms it is as high as 94 per cent. The average reduces to 90 per cent in owner-cum-tenant farms and further to only 86 per cent by owner operated farms where the ratio of mechanically operated farm equipments and use of tractors is about 100 per cent.

Province-wise break-up

The province-wise break-up of the land used and cropping intensity is as follow: the overall, land use intensity by tenure in Punjab is 93 per cent and the cropping intensity is 124 per cent, in tenant operated farms it is 96 per cent for the land used and 126 for the cropping. In owner operated farms, it is 91 and 124 per cent and in owner-cum-tenant it is 94 and 121 per cent.

In Sind overall is 86 per cent for the land used and 130 per cent for

the cropping intensity. In the tenant operated farms the intensity for the land used is 95 per cent but as high as 134 per cent for cropping. In case of owner operated farms it comes down to 80 per cent for the land used and 128 per cent for the cropping intensity. For owner-cum-tenant farms the land used intensity and cropping intensity is 83 and 124 per cent respectively.

In Baluchistan the intensity for the overall land used is 68 per cent and overall cropping intensity 78 per cent. In terms of tenant operated farms it is the highest in the province, that is, 81 and 96 per cent. In owner operated farms, it is 66 and 74 per cent and in case of owner-cum-tenant farms its 63 and 74 per cent respectively.

Farms area

In NWFP, the cropping intensity in the tenant farms is the second highest after Sind, that is, 130 per cent while in the same category land utilisation is only 85 per cent. Overall, on provincial basis, the cropping intensity and the ratio of land used in NWFP is 121 and 79 per cent. In case of owner farms it is 124 and 82 and for owner-cum-tenant farms the percentage is 108 and 71.

In Punjab, out of total 2.54 million farms, that is, 29.89 million acres of cultivated land about 1.3 million farms and about 14.8 million acres is directly operated by owners or through their monthly-salaried workers while 0.618 million farms are tilled by owner-cum-tenant and 0.542 million by tenants covering areas of 9.334 million acres and 5.681 million acres respectively.

In NWFP, the total number of farms is 0.528 million farms with total cultivated areas of 4.099 million acres. Out of these, owners operate 0.361 million farms with 2.388 million acres, owner-cum-tenants operate 0.72 million farms with 1.1 million acres and tenants

operate 0.095 million farms with 0.608 million acres.

In Sind, the total number of farms is 0.79 million having 9.20 million acres, out of which 0.32 million farms are operated by owners, having 4.35 million acres; 0.08 million farms by owner-cum-tenants having 1.53 million acres and 0.38 million farms having 3.328 million acres by the tenants.

In Baluchistan, the total number of farms is 0.20 million with an area of 2.91 million acres. Owner operated farms are 0.15 million having 2.91 million acres, owner-cum-tenant operated are 0.01 million with 0.43 million acres while 0.13 million farms having 0.55 million acres are operated by tenants.

Break-up of share cropping, leased and other lands tilled is as follows.

Tenure

Total farm area by tenure in Punjab is about 29.89 million acres out of which owners operate about 19.14 million acres and out of 10.748 million acres about 8.45 is sharecropped, about 2.08 is leased and 0.20 in other categories.

In NWFP, out of total 4.09 million acres of the farms area by tenure about 2.90 is operated by owners and out of the remaining 1.19 million acres about 1.02 is tilled under sharecropping, and about 0.15 under lease agreement and 0.01 million acres by others.

In Sind and Baluchistan, total farms area are 9.207 and 3.891 million acres out of which 5.091 and 3.130 million acres are operated by owners. Out of the remaining cultivated land of 4.11 million acres in Sind and 0.76 million acres in Baluchistan, about 3.45 million acres and about 0.65 million acres are covered under sharecropping, 0.61 million acres and 0.042 million acres under lease and 0.04 and 0.06 million under other terms and conditions in Sind and Baluchistan respectively.

OFFICIAL DENIES RETURN OF REFUGEES

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Sep 84 p 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sept 14: A huge amount of one million US dollars equal to Rs 1,40,00,000, is being spent on relief measures to the thirty million Afghan refugees in the country, daily.

The major part of this considerable amount, which is more than 50 per cent of the total amount, is being provided by Pakistan itself, while the rest is being contributed by UNHCR and WFP. This was stated by Brig (Retd) Said Azahar, Chief Commissioner of Afghan Refugees, while talking to PPI informally here on Friday.

The Chief Commissioner said that the arrival of refugees still continued and six to seven thousand refugees were being registered every month. He denied the reports that some of the refugees had gone back to Afghanistan and said "none of them has so far returned to Afghanistan".

Referring to the refugee camps in Punjab, the Chief Commissioner said, nine camps had so far been set up in tehsil Isakhel, district Mianwali, while work on the establishment of the 10th camp is in progress. Preliminary work had been

started for setting up more refugee camps. The total number would reach 12 in Punjab province.

After the establishment of these camps about one lakh more refugees could be accommodated in Punjab apart from one lakh presently living in the existing camps there.

The Chief Commissioner expressed satisfaction over the law and order situation in the refugee camps and said that no untoward incident had so far taken place which would disrupt the peaceful atmosphere of the camps.

Brig (Retd) Said Azahar said enumeration of refugees was also being held during which up-to-date lists of refugees were being prepared.

He said that refugees were not bound to live in refugee camps and were allowed to live in cities and other areas. But, he added, they are not allowed to set up refugee camps of their own will. However, he said, the refugees who do not live in camps do not deserve the assistance of government.

Referring to the steps being taken by the government to educate

the children of Afghan refugees, he said, besides opening primary schools in the refugee camps, lower middle and middle schools had also been opened and some of the Afghan students had also been given admissions in professional colleges.

He said, the efforts to impart literacy to the Afghan refugees and to provide them technical training do not mean that we had intentions to absorb them in our economy. After the settlement of Afghan problem the refugees have to return to their homeland, he added.

He further said that only a small number of Afghan refugees had migrated abroad. The largest group which migrated abroad was the group of four thousand Afghan refugees who had migrated to Turkey.

He said that his organisation had distributed meat of sacrificial animals received from Saudi Arabia within four hours after landing of the plane. He disclosed that Saudi Government had appreciated the arrangements of distribution of meat made by the Afghan Refugees Commissionate.—PPI

PROS, CONS OF RAISING NATIONAL ARMY WEIGHED

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by A.T. Chaudhri]

[Text]

PAKISTAN faces a new world today, a world in turmoil, in which the security problem, notably regional security, has become more complex than ever before. This calls for a new national strategy to mobilise human resources and integrate defence with society through a civil-military coordination.

It is worth recalling in this context that way back in 1931, the Quaid-i-Azam had observed in the Central Assembly of undivided India: "In old days two armies fought; the people were not concerned with it very much ... but those days have gone... you must have your national army."

After Independence, the Quaid tried to get out of the British ruts by raising Pakistan National Guard Battalions. He even waged the first war against the Dogra tyrannical rule, in Kashmir as a people's war, in which the soldier became citizen and the citizen soldier. But after his departure, the framers of the defence policy reverted to the British model, though the British, too, had evolved during World War II, the new military doctrine of "nation-at-arms".

It is after a generation now that we are again thinking loudly of creating a new equation, a new camaraderie, between the army and the people and turning the "nation-at-prayer" into a "nation-

at-arms". Though still in an embryonic stage, this will be wholly in consonance with the progressive concept of Islamisation and the imperatives of new times and new threats looming on two fronts.

Turkey and Germany

One does not know how serious are the policy-makers in raising what they call a "national army", distinct from the territorial army comprising the existing "Janbaz" and "Mujahid" forces. But on the eve of the Defence Day, the President cited the example of Turkey and Germany and stressed the need to impart two-year compulsory military training to every citizen and establish a permanent liaison between citizenry and soldiery. Yet, it is not clear whether the national army is envisaged as a people's army or as an adjunct of the standing army, which is professional to the core.

Now, the idea of a people's army was first mooted in the aftermath of the 1965 conflict, which had ended in a stalemate owing mainly to the paucity of "men on horseback" on this side. But Ayub Khan vehemently opposed what he considered to be a threat to his military regime. He seemed to shudder at the prospect of every citizen carrying a weapon, though he had never been near shell or shot.

After the 1971 trauma, top military analysts tried to revive the idea of a mini-peoples army, which had been nipped in the bud by Ayub Khan, the Bonapartist. It was suggested that the standing army

should be "judiciously pruned" to slash the mounting expenditure on defence which put a brake on the rapid pace of welfare-oriented development.

It was also contended that "large armies are seldom as competent as small ones". So, "every male citizen should be armed" through a "large measure of regimentation" and volunteers trained to serve the nation in time of war. But this failed to evoke the desired response from the powers that be.

Peoples wars

The fact is that in this age, a citizen army has invariably routed a professional army. For instance, Tito's legions drawn from the people turned the tables on Hitler's hordes during World War II. They captured arms from the invaders and forced them to retreat — of course, at a heavy price, for one out of every ten Yugoslavs laid down his life in defence of the motherland. The Algerians emulated this noble example when they beat back the NATO-equipped French army and waded through a river of blood to liberate their country.

This great feat was repeated by the bare-footed cycle-riding people's army of Ho Chi Minh which overpowered a super-bowler. The Vietnamese vindicated Napoleon's dictum: "In the end the spirit will always conquer the sword," though this was said in a different context.

One could add to the great saga of people's wars by recalling the victory of Mao's People's Liberation Army over the massive forces of Chiang and the annals of liberation wars fought by freedom fighters in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They rang the death-knell of six mighty empires after the war and ushered in the age of de-colonisation, by vanquishing mercenary colonial armies.

However, the most shining example of the successful resistance of a people's army against a formidable war machine and against the machinations of super powers is provided by the ideologically-oriented "Pasdaran" of Revolutionary Iran. They have demonstrated most convincingly that the swords and shields of professional soldiers cannot prevail upon the spirit and morale of dedicated volunteers.

What is more important, the Iranians have proved beyond doubt that the independence and sovereignty of a nation are always safe if there is an enduring partnership between civilians and soldiers and if the military power is subservient to civilian authority in both peace and war. For, battles are won and lost not only in the field but also in the Cabinet.

The question of civil-military partnership, which is at the core of the infrastructure of a national or people's army, has engaged the attention of political thinkers right since the days of Plato, who wanted the "auxiliaries" to be the allies of citizens in his ideal "Republic". The Romans taught civil zeal to the Praetorian guards. The modern democracies promote soldierly virtues among citizens and respect for civilian authority among soldiers. In the Soviet Union political commissars serve with the troops. Other countries try several techniques so that the "citizen is not lost in the soldier" and vice versa.

Pakistan, however, can take a start in the new direction by following Algeria's example and drafting citizens — from all regions of the country — as soldiers for short military service. This should help infuse martial spirit among the citizens and give a civilian orientation to the army men, provided all segments of society from all the provinces are equally represented in the various army echelons.

Defence Council

An essential prerequisite for welding the soldiers and civilians into a seamless whole would be to involve the people in defence affairs rather than treating national defence as a sacred cow. So, as a first step, a national Defence Council should be set up. It should comprise not only army leaders but also leaders of public opinion, politicians, economists and academicians.

Then, to make national defence a national affair, the defence budget should be discussed in the open. That should help lay a peace-time basis for defence programming and fill the gap between defence investments and strategic targets. Again, an effort should be launched to make national defence productive, as in China, and in the process raise the G.N.P.

Above all, a national Government enjoying popular mandate will have to be set up to give a concrete shape to the concept of a national army. Now that the geopolitical scene of this region has undergone a dramatic transformation, in the wake of the Soviet thrust into Afghanistan, and the geostrategic map of this area has been altered, the potential aggressors cannot be deterred by old military doctrines. In fact, as things are, defence policy has become too serious a business to be left to Generals alone.

It is now imperative for the high commands of the services and elected representatives of the people to join hands for restructuring a new security framework and facing up to the avalanche of new events. Michael Howard has rightly stressed that modern wars are conflicts of societies and cannot be fought unless armies and societies understand each other.

BRIEFS

RESTRICTION ON NASRULLAH CHALLENGED--Multan, Sept 14--The Multan Bench of Punjab High Court has called for a detailed report from the District Magistrate of Muzaffargarh within a week regarding the 15 days' curf imposed recently on Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan restricting him from moving out of the limits of Town Committee Khengarh in Muzaffargarh district. The report has been called on the writ petition filed by Sardar Inayatullah Khan Chandiya seeking quashment of the orders issued by the District Magistrate on the ninth of this month. Sardar Altaf Hussain Khan, Advocate, appeared on behalf of the petitioner while the Assistant Advocate General Punjab, Mr Tassaduq Jilani appeared on behalf of the State on the first hearing of the petition on Thursday. Mr Justice Zia Mahmood Mirza heard the petition. [Text]
[Karachi DAWN in English 15 Sep 84 p 2]

CSO: 4600/768

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25 Oct 1984